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VOLUME I

PART 6

MEMOIRS OF THE
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS

BY

JAMES MOONEY

SKETCH OF THE CHEYENNE GRAMMAR

BY

RODOLPHE PETTER

LANCASTER, PA., U. S. A.

THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY

SEPTEMBER, 1907

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THE CHEYENNE INDIANS

BY

JAMES MOONEY

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“In their wild and savage way they fought well for their country.”

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THE CHEYENNE INDIANS

By JAMES MOONEY

HISTORICAL SKETCH

SYNONYMS

CHAA. — La Salle, 1680, in Margry, *Découvertes*, II, 54, 1877. *Variants*: Chawa, Sha-i-a-pi, Shara, Sharha, Shaway, Shawhay.

CHEYENNE. — *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff.* for 1835, 297. *Variants*: Chaguyenne, Chayenne, Chian, Chien, Chyanne, Schianese, *Shaiena*, Shienne, Sianavo.

DZĪ'TSĪSTĀ'S. — Name used by themselves; apparently from a root signifying 'our people,' or 'people like us,' but possibly from another root signifying 'gashed,' as perhaps also indicated by the tribal sign. *Na tsĭ'stāi*, 'I am a Cheyenne.'

SIGN. — Right index finger drawn several times across left index finger; variously interpreted 'cut finger,' 'cut wrist,' 'scarred arm,' 'striped arrow.'

Aside from their acknowledged importance as a powerful and warlike Plains tribe, the Cheyenne are of special interest to the ethnologist as a rare instance of a sedentary and agricultural people cut off from the main body of their kindred and transformed by pressure of circumstance within the historic period into a race of nomad and predatory hunters, with such entire change of habit and ceremony that the old life is remembered only in sacred tradition and would seem impossible of belief but for the connected documentary proof of the fact. The Cheyenne chasing buffalo on the Staked plain were a stumbling block in Algonquian philology. The Cheyenne planting corn in Minnesota, in friendly neighborhood to the Ojibwa, are a perfectly feasible Algonquian proposition. Practically all that they have today of tribal life and ceremony, excepting the Medicine Arrow rite, has been acquired in the course of this migration, and the oldest things date back not more than two centuries.

The following notes are chiefly the result of investigations

made during the last five years among the Southern Cheyenne under a joint commission from the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, and supplemented by information derived from visiting Northern Cheyenne and from printed and manuscript sources. Some preliminary investigation had been made in connection with the study of the Ghost dance in 1891-92,¹ and during short visits in subsequent years. As the work under the joint commission required an exact knowledge of the arrangement of the tribal camping circle, special attention was devoted to this part of the subject. The statement here given of the names, pedigrees, and comparative rank of the several tribal divisions is believed to be nearly as correct as can be obtained from their own best informants of today, and is intended to supersede the author's earlier list in the Ghost Dance report.

Of eighty-five names for the Cheyenne, tabulated in the *Handbook of American Indians* now in course of publication by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the great majority are variants of the name given to them by the Sioux, and crystallized in the French spelling as "Cheyenne." They call themselves *Dzitsi'stäs*, a name equally capable of interpretation as 'people of our kind,' i. e., 'our people,' or as 'the gashed ones,' according as it may come from *'tstistau*, 'like this' (animate), *ehistä'*, 'he is of the kind,' or from *ehistä'*, 'he is gashed.' Although the second rendering would agree with a common interpretation of the tribal sign and has the support of some good authorities, I am inclined to think, from analogy with other tribal names and from the opinion of the Indians themselves, that the first meaning is the correct one. The popular name has no connection with the French *chien*, 'dog,' as has sometimes erroneously been supposed, but is derived from the name by which the Sioux call them, *Shahi-yena*, *Shai-ena*, or *Shai-ela*, meaning 'people of alien speech' (Williamson; Riggs), the same name being applied also by the Sioux to the Cree in Canada.² In the sign language they are indicated by a gesture

¹ *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1896.

² See also Sioux testimony in *South Dakota Hist. Coll.*, II, 23, 1904.

which has often been interpreted to mean 'cut arms' or 'cut fingers' — being made by drawing the right index finger several times rapidly across the left — but which appears really to indicate 'striped arrows,' by which name they are known to the Hidatsa, Shoshoni, Comanche, Caddo, and probably other tribes, in allusion to an asserted old-time preference for turkey feathers for arrows. According to Henry, in 1806, the Missouri river tribes were accustomed to get from the Cheyenne "great numbers" of turkey-cock tails, for use as fans.¹

EARLY HABITAT AND MIGRATION

The earliest authenticated habitat of the Cheyenne, before the year 1700, seems to have been along the middle course of Minnesota river in what is now southeastern Minnesota. Williamson, from Sioux tradition,² locates it definitely between the Blue Earth tributary and Lac Qui Parle, while Captain Clark,³ from Cheyenne testimony more than twenty years ago, locates it in practically the same place. According to the national tradition of the Cheyenne, still preserved in the tribe, they had arrived there after long and devious wandering through a cold and desolate country farther to the north or northeast — in all probability eastern Canada. The Sioux, living at that period more immediately on the Mississippi, to the east and southeast, came in contact with the French as early as 1656, but the Cheyenne are first mentioned in 1680, under the name of *Chaa*, when a party of that tribe, described as living on the head of the great river, i. e., the Mississippi, visited La Salle's fort, Crèvecoeur, on the Illinois, to invite the French to come to their country, which they represented as abounding in beaver and other fur animals.⁴ The veteran Sioux missionary, Williamson, says that according to current and reliable Sioux tradition the Cheyenne preceded the Sioux in the occupancy of the upper Mississippi region, and were found by them already established on the Minnesota. At

¹ Coues, *Henry and Thompson Journals*, I, 355, 1897.

² Who Were the First Men? *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, 300, 1872.

³ *Indian Sign Language*, 99, 1885.

⁴ La Salle, letter, 1680, in Margry, *Découvertes*, II, 54, 1877. La Salle's fort Crèvecoeur, was a short distance below the present Peoria, Illinois.

the same time the Iowa occupied the lower Minnesota, below the Cheyenne; the Oto were on its upper branches south and west of the Cheyenne, while the great body of the Sioux were still east of the Mississippi, about Mille Lac and northeastward toward Lake Superior. At a later period the Cheyenne moved over to the Cheyenne branch of Red river, North Dakota, which thus acquired its name, being known to the Sioux as "The place where the Cheyenne planted,"¹ showing that the latter were still an agricultural people.²

The prime cause of the upheaval and westerly migration of tribes about this period appears to have been the increasing pressure from the Cree and other tribes of the northeast after the establishment of the English trading posts on Hudson bay, beginning in 1668. Two years later, in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company was organized, and within a few years had a chain of five posts stretching along the shores of the bay from Rupert river to Nelson river in the far Northwest, all within the territory of the Cree (then, as now, the largest tribe in Canada), or of bands in close kinship and alliance with them. At the same time the French traders were advancing their posts westward along the lakes and northward to the heads of the Mississippi, the principal trade staples being guns, ammunition, knives, and hatchets, in return for skins. Each party encouraged its Indian allies to destroy or drive from the country with the weapons thus furnished the tribes attached to the rival interest. Petty raiding was superseded by intertribal warfare upon a large scale, in which the advantage rested with the Cree and their allies by virtue of their greater number and the superior organization and wealth of the English company. The Assiniboin, the most exposed band of Sioux, were compelled some time before 1679 to ally themselves with the invading Cree to save themselves from destruction, thus incurring the lasting hatred of their kinsmen. Thenceforth Cree and Assiniboin joined forces to drive the Sioux toward the Missouri. Nor was the French influence strong enough to protect the Sioux from the attacks of their hereditary

¹ *Shai-e-na-wojupi* (Williamson); *Sha-he-e-la-wo-zu* (Hayden).

² Williamson, op. cit., *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1, 1872

enemies, the Ojibwa of the lakes, who were already well supplied with guns from the French. In consequence, therefore, of this two-fold invasion from the east and northeast, we find the Sioux and other tribes of the vicinity being pressed onward to the Missouri river before the close of the eighteenth century. In this migration the Cheyenne probably led the van, being most remote from the traders of either nation, and therefore least provided of all with guns. When Le Sueur built his trading post on the lower Minnesota, near the present Mankato, in 1700, he was told that the river belonged to the Western Sioux (Teton), the Iowa, and the Oto. As no mention is made of the Chaa (Cheyenne), it is probable that they had already moved off toward the west since their visit to La Salle in 1680. The Iowa and Oto removed to the vicinity of the Omaha on the Missouri river just at the time that Le Sueur was building his fort.¹

Whether the first migration of the Cheyenne from the Minnesota river into the prairie was due most to Sioux, Assiniboin, or Cree, it is impossible to say with certainty, as we have no documentary record of the event, and their own tradition simply represents the move as a voluntary exodus in search of new hunting grounds.² The later removals from the Cheyenne branch of Red river to the Missouri and thence to the Black hills were unquestionably due to the hostility of the Sioux.

The government explorers, Lewis and Clark, who held friendly communication with the Cheyenne on the upper Missouri in 1804 and again in 1806, distinctly state that the latter had at one time lived in a village and cultivated corn on the Cheyenne branch of Red river until driven out by the Sioux. They fled across the Missouri and built a fortified village, the ruins of which

¹ For detailed notice of trade establishments and rivalries, Indian negotiations and movements, in the upper Mississippi and Hudson bay region, from 1656 to 1700 and later, see Talon, Du Luc, Du Chesneau, De la Barre, and others in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, 1855; Ramsey, Neill, Williamson, Le Sueur, in *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i, 1872; *Jes. Rel.* (Thwaites ed.), xxviii, note, 320, 1898; Bryce, *Hist. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 1900; *Encycl. Americana*, viii, 1903, article "Hudson's Bay Co."

² Their sacred tradition does indeed represent them as driven from the north by a stronger hostile tribe, but this evidently relates to a much earlier period.

were still visible in 1804, on the west bank of the river at a point identified from the description as a few miles north of the present Fort Yates, N. D. Here they had remained "a few years" until again driven out by the Sioux and compelled to take refuge in the Black hills, at the head of Cheyenne river of South Dakota, where they were then living on both sides of the mountains as roving buffalo hunters, without agriculture or fixed residence. They still carried on a defensive war with the Sioux, but were at peace with all their other Indian neighbors in that direction, although accustomed to make long journeys to the Spanish settlements in the Southwest to steal horses. They had formerly been at war with the Mandan, among whom the explorers found an adopted Cheyenne captive, and from some incidents of the narrative it appears that the peace was still somewhat doubtful.² No traders were yet resident among them, but they took their buffalo robes to the Arikara villages at the mouth of Grand river, on the Missouri, in the present South Dakota, where they met traders from the Hudson's Bay Company stations in the far north.

Bradbury in 1817 and Porter in 1829 both confirm the statement as to the Cheyenne having been driven from the Red river country by the Sioux, Porter fixing the event at about 1770.²

Clark, in his *Indian Sign Language*, already quoted, also says that they were driven west by the Sioux and perhaps also southward by the Mandan, and in another place states, on Cheyenne authority, that they were for many years at war particularly with the eastern Sioux, with intervals of peace terminated each time by some treachery of the latter tribe, until the final peace, interrupted only once since the Cheyenne had had guns.³ He makes them cross the Missouri river "near the mouth of the

¹ Lewis and Clark, *Original Journals*, 8 vols., N. Y., 1904-05: I, 176, 195, 212, 232; V, 352; VI, 100. The Mandan chief, Matotopa, visited by Maximilian in 1834 and by Catlin about the same period, had established his reputation by personal encounter with a Cheyenne chief.

² Bradbury, *Travels*, 124, 1817; Porter, *Rep. to Sec. War*, 1829, in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, III, 595, 1853.

³ Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 99-101, 1885.

Cheyenne" and "about 200 or 250 years ago" — which is a fairly good guess. Culbertson, writing in 1850, says: "This nation once lived on the Missouri, but has been driven back gradually by the Sioux people until their principal range is west of the Black Hills."¹ Hayden, in 1860, says: "We have the testimony of persons now living in that country that the Dakotas drove them from the Missouri to their present position."² Surgeon A. J. Comfort, U. S. A., writing about 1870 concerning some ancient mounds on upper Minnesota river, also says: "The Cheyennes about one hundred years since, were dispossessed of the soil by the Dakotas The legend of the latter tribe ascribed to the former the authorship of the artificial tumuli in this vicinity."³

The Sioux calendars published by Mallery are full of notices of hostilities between Sioux and Cheyenne in the early period and continuing even up to 1840-41, when the final peace was made.⁴

Henry, on the other hand, writing in 1800, represents the Cheyenne as having been driven out by the Ojibwa ("Saulteurs"). According to his account they had lived on the upper course of the Cheyenne branch of Red river, on terms of close friendship with the Cree and Ojibwa, and maintaining a neutral attitude in the hereditary war between the latter tribes and the Sioux. Being at last suspected of having favored the Sioux, they were attacked about the year 1740 by a large war party of the Ojibwa, who destroyed their village, made great slaughter of the defenders, and forced the survivors to retire across the Missouri, where they had become a wandering tribe, but at the same time had increased in numbers. They were then (1800) generally on good terms with the Arapaho, Arikara, Mandan, and Teton Sioux. This statement gives us another date for

¹ Culbertson in *Fifth Report Smithsonian Institution*, 139, 1851.

² Hayden, *Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley*, 275, 1862.

³ Comfort in *Smithsonian Report for 1871*, 402, 1873.

⁴ Mallery in *Fourth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1886. See also statement of Little Raven, in another place. In a recent verbal communication, Rev. John Eastman, of the Sioux tribe, also states that according to the tradition of his people they were formerly at war with the Cheyenne and had driven them across the Missouri.

their expulsion, which all other authorities attribute to the Sioux.¹

The Cheyenne claim to have been well acquainted with the Sioux before crossing the Missouri, but deny having been driven out by them or by any other people, claiming rather that they moved west in search of better hunting grounds. They say that in the old home in Minnesota they lived in permanent villages of earth-covered log houses, like those of the Pawnee and Omaha, but that before crossing the Missouri they had adopted the skin tipi, which they fastened down with heavy stones instead of with pegs. While occupying permanent villages they subsisted chiefly on corn of their own planting, and fish and ducks from the lakes. If they used wild rice, they seem to have forgotten it. They also made pottery—an art which they retained in some measure until perhaps seventy years ago. At least one man still understands the making of beads and figurines from pounded glass, as formerly practised by the Mandan. They claim that their corn was at last “stolen” from them by the Arikara; which probably means that after they became wanderers they were forced to discontinue agriculture and depend on purchase from the sedentary tribes. The skin tipi was probably for some time used in conjunction with the more permanent log structure, which, as we shall see later, was not finally abandoned until about the year 1800.

TRADITIONAL TRIBES AND ALLIANCES

In the old home they had for neighbors and friends toward the northeast a cognate people, the *Môtseo* (sing., *Môis*), whose dialect was near to that of the *Sûtaio*, but who also spoke Sioux from long association with that tribe. When the Cheyenne first moved out into the open country, the *Môtseo* accompanied them, but soon turned back, saying that they were hungry for the ducks of the lakes, and that the ghosts of the slain buffalo came to them in dreams at night and stared at them with great eyes, so that they were afraid to kill any more. Certain of the

¹ Henry (1800) in *Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson*, Coues ed., I, 144, 383, 1897.

Cheyenne claim descent from this ancient tribe.¹ Attempts have been made to interpret this name as a Cheyenne word meaning 'many flies,' from *hîs*, 'a fly'; or 'flint people,' from *moîso*, 'flint.' Evidence shows, however, that it is merely an adaptation of a foreign name, and that the M^oîseo are identical with the Monsoni, Monsona, or Mousoni, a tribe linguistically about equally akin to both Ojibwa and Cree, and occupying in 1740-90 the territory south and north of Rainy lake and Lake of the Woods, and ranging eastward to Moose river, in Canada.² We thus find the Cheyenne in early alliance with the tribes of Lake Superior.

Westward or southwestward from the Cheyenne in this early period, probably in the prairies about the upper James river, S. D., was another cognate tribe about which more is known, the S^utaio (singular, S^u'tai). According to practically unanimous tribal tradition, they spoke a "Cheyenne language," i. e., a dialect fairly intelligible to the Cheyenne — which agrees with the result of Mr Petter's philologic research, and probably accounts for their complete absorption later. As the story goes, the two tribes were for a long time at war, until, recognizing their kinship through a common language, they made peace and alliance, and finally crossed the Missouri together. The crossing was made in winter while the river was frozen over, and, the ice breaking — a common incident in migration traditions — a part of the S^utaio were forced to remain behind and became incorporated with the M^oîseo. Living farther to the west, the S^utaio appear to have been a buffalo tribe, as distinguished from the Cheyenne and M^oîseo, and it was from them, after the alliance had been made, that the Cheyenne obtained the ritual and ceremony of the ~~Sun Dance~~, now the greatest of all their ceremonies. To the S^utaio belonged also the buffalo-cap medicine, with its sacred ritual and tradition, still preserved in the S^utaio

¹ Two authorities, Mad Wolf (born 1829) and Wolf Robe (born 1840) make the M^oîseo a distinct band, occupying the southeast part of the circle. I have followed Lone Wolf, a principal priest (born 1838), Big Jake (born 1834), and others.

² See Jesuit Relation for 1672; Mémoire en abrégé, ca. 1749, in Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 616, 1886; Dobbs, *Hudson's Bay*, 13, 1744.

band and regarded with a reverence second only to that accorded the sacred arrows. Some of the old people of the present Sūtaio band claim that their extinction as a separate tribe is a punishment for having once abandoned the priest of the sacred buffalo-cap in his old age and decrepitude. In consequence of a dispute at the beginning of the outbreak in 1874, a part of this buffalo-cap medicine is now held among the Northern Cheyenne, while the rest is with the priest of the tradition among the Southern Cheyenne.

The Sutaio seem to be identical with the "Sta-e-tan" (i. e., *Sūtai-itā'n* "Sutai man"), of Lewis and Clark (1806), described as a small tribe of 100 men and 400 souls, roving with several other tribes about the upper Platte, and having the same alliances and enemies as the Cheyenne.¹ Up to 1833, and probably until reduced by the cholera of 1849, the Sutaio retained their distinctive dialect, dress, and ceremonies, and usually camped apart from the Cheyenne. In 1851 they were still to some extent a distinct people, but exist now only as one of the component divisions of the (Southern) Cheyenne tribe, in no respect different from the others.²

Sage, who met the Cheyenne on the South Platte in 1843, thus notes this tradition of the Sutaio, whom, however, he confounds with the Grosventres :

The tribe is composed of two divisions, viz. : the Cheyennes and Gros Ventres, — both speaking the same language and practicing the same designation of nationality, shown in sundry transverse scars upon the left arm. Neither of these divisions know their origin, but tell the following curious story of their first intercourse with each other. Many years since, the Cheyennes, while traveling from a north country, discovered the Gros Ventres, who were also upon a journey. As usual among strange tribes, both parties rushed to the attack, and a bloody battle would undoubtedly have been the result, had it not been stayed by the mutual discovery of

¹ *Lewis and Clark Journals*, Thwaites ed., VI, 101-102 1905.

² The statement that the Sutaio were a detached band of the Blackfeet (Grinnell, in *Am. Anthropologist*, April, 1892), or the more recent statement by the same author (*Proc. Congress of Americanists* for 1902, 1905) that they were a part of the Cree and joined the Cheyenne after the latter reached the Black hills, is not borne out either by preponderant tradition or by linguistic evidence. Lone Wolf, Cheyenne chief, born in 1838, says they formed a part of the Cheyenne circle when he was a boy.

an identity of language. Upon this, hostility at once gave place to friendship, and the two parties negotiated an immediate union. Since then they have been considered as one nation. What is most singular in this occurrence, neither the Gros Ventres nor Cheyenne could trace any previous connection or intercourse with each other, or knowledge of their individual existence.¹

Another traditionary tribe encountered by the Cheyenne after crossing the Missouri was the Ówū'qeo (singular, Owū'q), the name being now without meaning. They seem to have lived in tipis, at least at times, and may have been of Siouan stock. They resided on the west bank of the river, probably near where the traditional crossing was made. They were hostile to the Cheyenne, who finally organized a winter expedition against them, at a time when the river was frozen over. Surprising them in their tipis before daylight, the Cheyenne drove them in upon the ice without giving them time to dress or arm themselves. The ice peeled the skin from their bare feet, and being thus unable either to stand or flee, the Ówū'qeo were massacred, men, women, and children, with the exception of one woman, who was claimed as a captive by a Cheyenne chief. Some informants think a few may have escaped, but as a tribe they were never reunited. The woman became the wife of her captor, and, after learning the Cheyenne language, informed him that her own husband had been a chief, and that in her tribe the government was held in a council of forty-four chiefs, selected according to certain forms for their bravery, wisdom, and fine physical appearance. The method, as she explained it, seemed good to the Cheyenne, and under her instruction they set up a "chief tipi," trimmed and painted a bundle of "chief sticks," and elected their first council of forty-four chiefs, on the plan which still continues in the tribe. There is a possibility that they were identical with the Awaqawi, Ahwahhaway, or Amahami, a remnant Siouan tribe found incorporated with the Hidatsa in 1804, but long since absorbed. If we accept this tradition as founded on truth, in connection with Henry's statement as to the time when the Cheyenne fled from the Red river

¹ Sage, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 159-160, 1846.

country, we may get 1750 as the approximate date of the adoption of their present council system.

For as long a period as the Cheyenne have been generally known to the whites, they have been in close alliance and association with the Arápaho, to such an extent that the phrase "Cheyenne and Arapaho" has become as familiar as that other compound tribal designation, "Sauk and Fox." Both languages are Algonquian and therefore cognate, although too far apart to be mutually intelligible. In habit, dress, and much of their ceremony the tribes are also closely identical, but keep separate camp circles and sun dances. Cheyenne tradition is silent as to when this association or alliance began, from which some of the old men argue that it must be of more recent date than the events recorded in the migration story and subsequent to the crossing of the Missouri, although dating back more than a century. Others claim that they knew the Arapaho before the alliance with the Sutaio. Clark, in his *Indian Sign Language*, says that "very reliable tradition locates this tribe in western Minnesota several hundred years ago, meeting the Cheyennes as they — the Cheyennes — came out on the prairie, and for many years moving and camping with or near them, so that for all practical purposes they were one people" until after passing the Black hills, when their lines began to diverge. This statement is probably near the truth, and agrees very well with the statement of Mackenzie that, about the period of 1790, the Arapaho occupied the plains from the north bend of the Missouri across to the south bend of the Assiniboin, i. e., east of the Missouri in what is now eastern North Dakota and the adjacent part of Manitoba, and seemed to be slowly moving toward the northwest.¹ Little Raven, principal chief of the tribe, told Clark, about 1884: "When my father was a child we were at war with the Sioux. Twenty-nine years since he died, and he had seen sixty winters at his death. We afterwards made peace with the Sioux, and sometimes lived with them. The Cheyennes

¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, lxxi, 1801. He does not mention them by name, but describes them as the people from whom have come the Fall Indians or Atsina.

The Cheyenne Indians

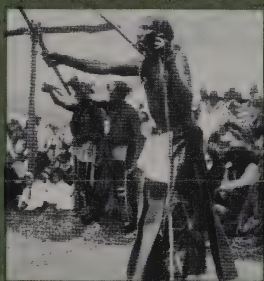
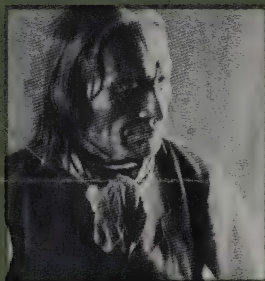
THEIR HISTORY AND WAYS OF LIFE

by George Bird Grinnell

Introduction by Mari Sandoz

Photographs by Elizabeth C. Grinnell and Mrs. J. E. Tuell

TWO VOLUMES



For more than sixty-five years George Bird Grinnell's energies and devoted scholarship were all centered upon the native life of the Great Plains and bordering mountains. Mr. Grinnell's first meeting with the Cheyenne Indians was hostile, and it was not until their wars were over that he learned to know them. After a few years' acquaintance they began to give him their confidence and many visits to their camps have enabled him to penetrate into the secrets of their life.

In 1870, when Grinnell first came in contact with the Cheyennes, most of the region was wilderness. Buffalo still moved in vast dark herds over the prairies and no Teton Sioux or Northern Cheyenne had ever set his moccasin upon the humiliating earth of an Indian reservation. By the time of Grinnell's death in 1938, much of the wild life and the scenic beauty of the region that still existed had been preserved at least in part through his efforts.

The finest body of material on any tribe was his writings on the Cheyenne Indians.

"During the thirty-three years between Grinnell's first visit to the Cheyennes and the publication of his definitive work, *The Cheyenne Indians*," according to Mari Sandoz, "he studied these people as no other tribe has been studied, approaching them with the reserve and dignity that the Indians appreciated, and with the open mind of the scholar and the learning heart of the modest man. He studied their history as a warrior people, but he was even more concerned with the organization of Cheyenne life, the significance and essence of it, from the simplest comings and goings in the village circle to their deep sense of identification with all the things around them, and in their most meaningful ceremonials, their profound and all-permeating religious sense."

One could wish that other tribes might have had their George Bird Grinnell.

The Cheyennes were a primitive people who, in the author's words, live comprehensive 2 volumes, **THE CHEYENNE INDIANS**, George Bird Grinnell

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"more in accordance with custom and form than we do." In the
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THE CHEYENNE INDIANS will appeal to a broad audience of Western Americana buffs and students of American Indian Life. This study of Cheyenne Life is also a source for anthropologists and sociologists.

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made peace first. The Sioux first saw white men, then the Cheyennes."¹

CONTACT WITH EARLY TRAVELERS

From 1680 to 1800 the only reference to the Cheyenne seems to be that of Carver, who incorrectly makes the "Schians" and "Schianese" two distinct bands of Sioux in 1768.² There is no evidence that any one of the tribes met by Verendrye in 1742-43, in his journey from the Mandan country southwest to the Rocky mountains and back again, was identical with the Cheyenne, who were probably at that time still on the Cheyenne branch of Red river.³

In his journal for 1800, the younger Alexander Henry, a trader of the Winnipeg region, describes the Cheyenne as having been driven from the Red river country and being then a wandering tribe west of the Missouri, on terms of general friendship with the Arapaho, Arikara, Mandan, and Teton Sioux.⁴

In 1802 the French traveler, Perrin du Lac, met at the mouth of White river, on the Missouri, a party of Cheyenne, many of whom had never before seen a white man and who manifested a childish delight at the small trinkets which he distributed to them. Further on he states that their principal range was then on both sides of the Cheyenne river of South Dakota, and that, although most of their time was spent chasing the buffalo, they yet planted corn and tobacco in the vicinity of their village, which they gathered on their return from the summer hunt. This permanent village was probably about the junction of the Cheyenne with the Missouri, and it is evident from his statement that the tribe was still in some measure

¹ Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 39-40, 1885. The Arapaho are the Canenavich or Kaninavish of Lewis and Clark, and the Gens de Vache of Henry and the early Canadian traders.

² Carver, *Travels*, 50, 1796.

³ He mentions Assiniboëls, Mantanes, Gens des Chevaux, Beaux Hommes, Petits Renards, Pioya, Gens de l'Arc, Gens du Serpent, Gens de la Belle Rivière, Gens de la Petite Cerise, and Gens de la Flèche Collée, autrement Sioux des Prairies. The majority of these names seem to occur in no other writing. See Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 598-611, 1886.

⁴ *Henry and Thompson Journals*, Coues ed., I, 144, 1897.

sedentary and agricultural. They probably gave up the agricultural habit on finally abandoning this village. They were on friendly terms with the Arapaho, Kiowa, and "Tokiouakos" (?),¹ roving tribes hunting in the same region. Perrin du Lac has something to say of their mourning customs and gives an interesting myth of a sacred lake where dwelt the king of the beavers. He makes three subtribes, the Chaguyenne, Ouisy, and Chousa, which Petter, on careful analysis, identifies respectively as the Hevhaitāneo or main body of the tribe, the O'misis, and the Hotamitāneo.²

The explorers, Lewis and Clark, were visited by several of the tribe while among the Mandan about Knife river, N. D., in 1804, and again held more extended communication with them among the Arikara about the mouth of Grand river, S. D., on their return trip in 1806. The description which they give is of special interest for its early date:³

The Chyennes are portly Indians, much the complexions of the Mandans and Ricaras—high cheeks, straight limbed, and high noses. The men are large. Their dress in summer is simply a robe of a light buffalo skin with or without the hair, and a breech clout and moccasin. Some wear leggins and moccasins. Their ornaments are but few, and those are composed principally of such articles as they procure from other Indians, such as blue beads, shell, red paint, rings of brass, brooches, etc. They also wear bear's claws about their necks, strips of otter skin (which they, as well as the Ricaras, are excessively fond of) around their necks, falling back behind. Their ears are cut at the lower part, but few of them wore ornaments in them. Their hair is generally cut in the forehead above their eyes, and small ornamented plaits in front of each shoulder; the remainder of the hair is either twisted in with horse or buffalo hair divided into two plaits, or, what is most common, flows back. Their women are homely, coarse-featured, wide mouths. They wear simply a leather habit made in a plain form, of two pieces of equal length and equal width, which is sewn together with sinews from the tail to about half way from the hip to the arm; a string fastens the two pieces together over the shoulders, leaving a flap or lapels which fall over near

¹ "To-che-wah-coo" or "Fox Indians," mentioned as one of the tribes bringing robes and horses to trade with the Arikara.—*Lewis and Clark Journals*, Thwaites ed., I, 190, 1904.

² Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les Deux Louisianes*, 213, 218, 257-262, 275, 1805.

³ *Lewis and Clark Journals*, Aug. 22, 1806, v, 356-57, 1905. We reduce the peculiar spelling and punctuation of the original to the accepted form.

half way down their body both before and behind. Those dresses usually fall as low as mid leg; they are frequently ornamented with beads and shells and elk tusks, of which all Indians are very fond of [sic]. Those dresses are also frequently printed in various regular figures with hot sticks, which are rubbed on the leather with such velocity as to nearly burn it. This is very handsome. They wear their hair flowing, and are excessively fond of ornamenting their ears with blue beads. This nation is peaceably disposed. They may be estimated at from 350 to 400 men inhabiting from 130 to 150 lodges [about 300 lodges," I, 176]. They are rich in horses and dogs. The dogs carry a large proportion of their light baggage. They confess to be at war with no nation except the Sioux, with whom they have ever since their remembrance been on a defensive war, with the [eastern?] bands of Sioux. As I was about to leave the chief's lodge, he requested me to send some traders to them; that their country was full of beaver and they then would be encouraged to kill beaver, but now they had no use for them, as they could get nothing for their skins and did not know well how to catch beaver. If the white people would come amongst them they would become acquainted and they [i. e., the white people] would learn them how to take the beaver. I promised the nation that I would inform their great father, the President of the United States, and he would have them supplied with goods, and mentioned in what manner they would be supplied, etc., etc.

Henry, the trader already quoted, visited the Cheyenne again in 1806 in their main camp while they were moving in to make a treaty of alliance with the Hidatsa and Mandan, which was to be formally ratified by the ceremonial adoption of a young Cheyenne by the Hidatsa chief. The ceremonies, however, came to an abrupt and violent close in consequence of the arrival of a small party of Assiniboin, hereditary enemies of the Cheyenne, the latter attempting to kill them, but being prevented by the others. Henry describes the Cheyenne as superior to the Missouri river tribes in manners and appearance and in the dressing and ornamentation of skins and robes. They traded white buffalo robes, turkey tails, and beaver skins to the river tribes for corn, beans, and some few guns, and even had some dealings with tribes from the Illinois country. They generally wintered southward from the Black hills and moved northward to the Missouri in the spring. His description of the adoption ceremony is very interesting,¹ and in hinting at a linguistic

¹ *Henry and Thompson Journals*, Coues ed., I, 347-97, 1897.

connection with the Cree he gives us the earliest clew to an Algonquian affinity.

In the summer of 1811 the overland expedition under command of W. P. Hunt, bound from St Louis for Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia, made a two weeks' stop among the Cheyenne for the purpose of buying horses. They were then camped about the eastern base of the Black hills and in friendly trade relations with the Arikara.¹

FIRST TREATY — REMOVAL TO THE ARKANSAS

Constantly pressed farther into the plains by the Sioux in their rear, the Cheyenne established themselves next on the upper branches of the Platte, driving the Kiowa in their turn farther to the south. They made their first treaty with the Government in 1825, at the mouth of Teton (Bad) river, on the Missouri, about the present Pierre, S. D. General Atkinson, in charge of the treaty expedition, describes them as having been driven by the Sioux from the Red river country, and then roving about the Cheyenne river from near its mouth back to the Black hills. In general habit they resembled the Sioux. They had had but little acquaintance as yet with traders, and generally used the bow, but had a number of guns and an abundance of horses and mules. They were very friendly to the whites. He estimated them at 3,000 souls.²

In 1828 the Bent brothers and Ceran St Vrain established a small trading post at the present Pueblo, Colorado, in consequence of which a part of the Cheyenne, who had already met William Bent as a trader at the mouth of the Yellowstone, determined to move down to the Arkansas river. The tribe at that time camped chiefly in the western Black hills, Wyoming, but frequently raided to the southward against the Kiowa and others. The Hévhaitāneo band led the van of the migration, but was obliged to turn back on account of an outbreak of smallpox at the post. A few years later Bent's Fort was built on the Arkansas river, in southeastern Colorado, and this time, on the

¹ Irving, *Astoria*, I, 303, 323-29, 1897.

² Atkinson, *Report on Treaty Expedition*, 10, 1826.

personal invitation of William Bent himself, who went up to urge the matter, the main body of the tribe removed permanently to the upper Arkansas, arriving in the vicinity of the fort just before the noted star shower in the fall of 1833. The rest of the tribe continued to rove about the headwaters of the North Platte and Yellowstone. The separation was made permanent by the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851, the two sections being now known respectively as Southern and Northern Cheyenne, but the distinction is purely geographic, although it has served to hasten the destruction of their former compact tribal organization. The Southern Cheyenne are known in the tribe as Sówoniă, 'southerners,' or sometimes, loosely, Hévhaită'neo, while the Northern Cheyenne are commonly designated as O'mi'sis, 'eaters,' from the division most numerous represented among them.

The first incidental notice of the Cheyenne in the annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs occurs in 1835, but they are not prominently mentioned until some years later. In 1838 it is reported that they had abandoned the Sioux country several years ago and were then generally to be found on the Arkansas.¹

Their advent on the Arkansas brought them into constant collision with the Kiowa, who, with the Comanche, claimed the territory to the south. The old men of both tribes tell of numerous encounters during the next few years, chief among these being a battle in 1837, in which the Kiowa massacred an entire party of 40 Cheyenne warriors of the Hi'matanóhīs (Bowstring) society after a stout defense.² In retaliation the Cheyenne and Arapaho the following summer attacked the Kiowa and Comanche, on Wolf creek, in northwestern Oklahoma, with considerable loss on both sides. About 1840 the Cheyenne made peace with the Kiowa, who themselves made peace with the Sioux about the same time, since when all these tribes, together with the Arapaho,

¹ Pilcher in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1838*, 471.

² The encounter took place on the head of a small southern tributary of the Washita, on the Red River divide, about 12 miles southwest of the present Cheyenne, Oklahoma. The date is fixed from the author's Kiowa Calendar. See *Seventeenth Report Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1898.

Comanche, and Kiowa Apache, have usually acted as allies in the wars with other tribes with the whites. For a long time the Cheyenne have mingled much with the western Sioux, from whom they have patterned in many details of dress and ceremony. They seem not to have suffered greatly from the smallpox epidemic of 1837-39, having been warned in time to escape to the mountains, but in common with other prairie tribes they suffered terribly from the cholera in 1849, several of their bands being nearly exterminated. For some reason, possibly for this very cause, there is no official report from the Cheyenne for this year, and consequently no mention of this epidemic among them, although much is said of its terrible ravages among the Pawnee. Culbertson, writing a year later, states that the Cheyenne had lost about 200 lodges, estimated at 2,000 souls, or about two-thirds of their whole number before the epidemic.¹

Their removal to the Arkansas also brought them into closer contact with exploring expeditions and the Santa Fé traders. Frémont, Abert, Sage, and more particularly Garrard, give interesting notes on the tribe as met in the neighborhood of Bent's Fort about this period. In 1846 it was officially reported that they were being plundered and demoralized by whisky dealers from New Mexico. In the same year their first resident agent was appointed in the person of Thomas Fitzpatrick, with headquarters at Bent's Fort.² At a later period the agency was organized as the agency of the Upper Arkansas, with jurisdiction over the Cheyenne and Arapaho of the south, together with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache. The Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, together with the Oglala and Brulé Sioux, were placed in charge of the agency of the Upper Platte, with headquarters nine miles east of Fort Laramie, Wyoming. From the missionary, De Smet, we have account of a friendly visit with the Cheyenne of the North Platte in 1840.

FORT LARAMIE TREATY — FIRST CHEYENNE WAR

In 1846 began a flood of emigration across the plains to

¹ Culbertson in *Smithsonian Report for 1850*, p. 139 et seq.

² Agent Moore in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1846*, 293-96; Agent Fitzpatrick in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1847*, 238-49.

Oregon and Washington, and three years later this was swelled to tidal proportions by the discovery of gold in California. The principal overland trail reached the mountains by ascending the North Platte, and to insure the safety of the emigrants and to arrange an understanding among the various warring tribes, the treaty of Fort Laramie was negotiated in September, 1851. At this great gathering probably ten thousand Indians were assembled—Sioux, Assiniboin, Crow, Mandan, Arikara, Hidatsa, Cheyenne, Arapaho—half of them hereditary enemies to the other half from time beyond memory. The treaty carried annuity stipulations, recognized the right of the government to establish roads and military posts in the Indian territory, fixed tribal boundaries, and declared an end of tribal wars. The Cheyenne and Arapaho were recognized as owners of the country between the North Platte and the Arkansas (construed to mean its southern branch, the Purgatoire) from their sources in the Rocky mountains down to a line running southward from about the forks of the Platte. This territory embraced large sections in Wyoming, Nebraska, and western Kansas, with about half of the present Colorado, including the sites of Denver, Leadville, and Pueblo. It was to maintain this territory that the Cheyenne fought their subsequent wars.¹

Their peace with the Kiowa had enabled them to extend their incursions farther to the south, and in 1853 they made their first raid into Mexico, but with disastrous result, losing all but three men in a fight with Mexican lancers.

Up to this time the Cheyenne as a tribe had remained at peace with the whites, notwithstanding several unfortunate happenings in their intercourse with emigrants, troops, or traders on the two main travel routes, the Santa Fé trail along the Arkansas, and the Oregon trail along the North Platte. Another disquieting element was furnished by the advent of the immigrant tribes which had been recently removed from the Eastern states and settled upon the frontiers of Kansas. With

¹ See Treaty of Fort Laramie, 1851; Keppler in *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, II, 594, 1904; also discussion of same treaty, with maps, in Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, *Eighteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, 1899.

their hunting instinct and improved firearms they vied with the white immigrants in the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo, on which the Plains tribes depended. In 1854 the latter organized their forces in a great expedition of some 1,500 warriors—Sioux, Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and others—with the purpose of sweeping the immigrant tribes from the plains, but were completely routed by a handful of the eastern warriors, who fought with rifles, while their assailants had only bows.¹ Two years before it had been officially reported that the Plains Indians were suffering from the vast number of emigrants passing through their country, destroying their means of support and scattering disease and death among them.²

The first serious trouble occurred among the Northern Cheyenne, who were the greatest sufferers. In April, 1856, the commanding officer at Upper Platte bridge (now Casper, Wyoming) summoned the Indians of a neighboring camp to surrender four horses claimed by emigrants. Three horses were promptly given up, but a dispute arose as to the fourth, when the officer attempted to put the Indian claimants under arrest, upon which they resisted and one was killed. The entire camp then fled into the Black hills, leaving their tipis and belongings to be seized by the troops, and killing a trader whom they met in their flight, which they continued until they effected a junction with the southern band on Republican river in Kansas.³ While in this neighborhood, in August of the same year, a war party looking for Pawnee met the mail coach. Two young men approached it, as they said, to beg for tobacco, but being mistaken for enemies, were fired upon and one of them wounded by the driver. They retaliated by sending an arrow through his arm, when the chiefs interposed by shielding the driver until out of danger and punishing the two warriors. When the affair was reported at Fort Kearney (Nebraska), troops were sent out, who fired upon the Indians at close range, killing six. Instead

¹ Reports of Agents Whitfield and James and Superintendent Cumming in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1854*; Mooney, *Calendar Hist. Kiowa Inds., Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 297-99, 1898.

² Commissioner Lea, *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1852*, 9.

³ Agent T. S. Twiss in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1856*, 87, 1857.

of returning the fire, the Cheyenne again abandoned their camp with everything in it and fled north across the Platte, killing two men, a woman, and a child of an emigrant party which they met on the way. Within a few days thereafter small raiding parties from the main band killed eight other whites, and took a woman and a child captive. Although the agent in charge protested most strongly that both affairs were due to misunderstanding and that he could adjust all differences without assistance, it was decided that the situation demanded forcible measures, and the first Cheyenne war was inaugurated.¹ For a full year the whole Kansas frontier was made desolate by a series of Indian raids in which property was destroyed, lives lost, and captives carried off to be subjected to every savage cruelty.² The campaign was brought to a head by Colonel E. V. Sumner, who, on July 29, 1857, struck the main body of warriors, on Solomon river, completely routing them in spite of a bold stand, two days later entering and destroying their abandoned village, together with all their winter provisions, and pursuing them to the Arkansas, where they and the Kiowa had been threatening Bent's Fort. It is said that the exceptionally bold front assumed by the Indians in the beginning of the action was due to the encouragement of their medicine-man, who had assured them that by certain preliminary mystic ceremonies he had rendered them immune from the bullets of the soldiers. Unfortunately for the prediction, the troops charged with sabers.³

¹ Reports of Thomas S. Twiss, agent of the Upper Platte agency, in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1856*, 87-103, 1857.

² Says Agent Miller (*Rep. for 1857*, p. 146): "Various reports came to my ears of the treatment of the prisoners they had taken during the summer, the details of which are too disgusting and horrible for repetition here. Suffice it to say, that they were the most terrible that can be possible for even Indian iniquity in inventing modes of cruelty to conceive." Every one who knows the history of Indian warfare knows this to be true, and it is just this invariable accompaniment of devilish and bestial cruelty which often compels the friends of the Indian to be silent even when they know that the original justice of the quarrel is on his side. The Cheyenne answer to the argument is the Chivington massacre.

³ Reports of Col. E. V. Sumner, R. J. Walker, Maj. L. A. Armistead, and Lieut. Lewis Merrill, in *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, v, 299-301, 370-3, 1896; Com'r. J. W. Denver and Agt. R. C. Miller in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1857*, 9, 141-8, 1858. The Indians were led by Shave Head of the Southern Cheyenne,

In his next annual report the agent for the Upper Arkansas stated that the Cheyenne were anxious to be at peace and to have an undisturbed reservation assigned them, with tools for learning farming in anticipation of the failure of the buffalo.¹

GOLD RUSH TO COLORADO — FORT WISE TREATY

In the very next year, however (1858), gold was discovered at Pike's peak in Colorado. At once began a great rush to the mines, the town of Denver was laid out and a county government organized, all within the treaty limits of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. In his report for 1859 the Indian Commissioner calls attention to the gravity of this new issue, as affecting all the tribes of the upper Arkansas, and says: "A crisis has now, however, arrived in our relations with them. Since the discovery of gold in the vicinity of Pike's Peak the emigration has immensely increased; the Indians have been driven from their local haunts and hunting grounds, and the game so far killed off or dispersed, that it is now impossible for the Indians to obtain the necessary subsistence from that source. In fact, we have substantially taken possession of the country and deprived them of their accustomed means of support."²

In the same report Colonel William Bent of Bent's Fort, at that time agent for the Upper Arkansas tribes, gives urgent warning of the necessity of making immediate provision for settling these Indians upon reservations under guaranteed security from lawless intrusion, together with payment for the lands already occupied by the whites. His suggestions were based on more than thirty years of intimate knowledge of the Plains Indians, particularly the Cheyenne.³

afterward killed by jumping from a train while a prisoner en route to Florida, and by Ice, alias White Bull, of the Northern Cheyenne, still living in 1903.

¹ Agt. R. C. Miller in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1858*, 98-99.

² Com'r. A. B. Greenwood, *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1859*, 21, 1860.

³ The Bent brothers, with St Vrain, the Campbells, and the Chouteaus, were associated in the Indian trade on the upper Arkansas and Platte. Charles and William Bent built Bent's Fort, Colorado, in 1832. Charles Bent, first American governor of New Mexico, was murdered at Taos in 1847. Two other of the Bent brothers died, and under these discouragements the fort was blown up by William Bent in 1849. In 1853 he built a new fort lower down on the Arkansas, which was soon

He states that while the confederated Cheyenne and Arapaho scrupulously maintained peaceful relations with the whites notwithstanding the irritation growing out of the occupancy of the gold fields and the consequent emigration through their hunting grounds, estimated by him at more than 60,000 emigrants in a single season, yet a grave crisis was at hand involving all the tribes of his jurisdiction. "A smothered passion for revenge agitates these Indians, perpetually fomented by the failure of food, the encircling encroachments of the white population, and the exasperating sense of decay and impending extinction with which they are surrounded. . . . These numerous and warlike Indians, pressed upon all around by the Texans, by the settlers of the gold region, by the advancing people of Kansas, and from the Platte, are already compressed into a small circle of territory, destitute of food, and itself bisected athwart by a constantly marching line of emigrants. A desperate war of starvation and extinction is therefore imminent and inevitable, unless prompt measures shall prevent it."¹

In February, 1861, a treaty was negotiated at Fort Wise, Colorado,² with the representatives of the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, for a reservation on the Arkansas river, in Colorado, with provision for annuities and assistance toward agriculture and civilization. It failed of effect from the refusal of the northern band, on the Platte, to remove from their accustomed hunting grounds.³ In the meantime the Civil War had broken out and the ferment had spread among the prairie tribes.

afterward bought by the Government and named Fort Wise, afterward Fort Lyon. William Bent died in 1869, aged about 65. He was given, or offered, a colonel's commission in the Mexican war, but did not accept. He was twice married in the Cheyenne tribe, with which he had probably more influence than has ever been held by any other white man.

¹ Agent Bent in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1859*, 137-39, 1860.

² Originally "Bent's New Fort," afterward Fort Lyon. Described in the treaty as situated "in the territory of Kansas."

³ See Kappler, *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, II, 807, 1904; Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, *Eighteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 824 and maps, 1899; Com'r. Dole in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1862*, 33, 1863; and *Rep. for 1863*, 16, 1864. The treaty bears the names of but six Cheyenne signers, as against thirteen attached to that of 1825, and fourteen affixed to that of 1867, in which only the Southern Cheyenne were represented.

In 1862 smallpox ravaged the Platte country and some depredations were committed by the Sioux and the dissatisfied Northern Cheyenne.¹ In an effort to compel the Northern Cheyenne to accept the Fort Wise treaty and reservation they were notified that they must thenceforth go to the Southern agency for their annuity supplies. They remained obdurate, however, absolutely refusing to recognize the treaty, to surrender their hunting grounds on the heads of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, or to give up their free hunting life. Depredations occurred on the Arkansas as well as in the north, rumors became current of combinations of hostile tribes, and Governor Evans of Colorado got ready for trouble.² On the Indian side, their agent reported that most of the depredations committed by them were due to starvation, and that those who had come in upon the reservation, although apparently anxious to settle down, would find it impossible to remain unless something were done to support them, as there was not a buffalo within two hundred miles and but little game of any kind.³

OUTBREAK OF 1864 — CHIVINGTON — HANCOCK — MEDICINE
LODGE TREATY

The frontier garrisons having been depleted for service in the Civil War, a volunteer force was organized in Colorado and placed under command of Colonel J. M. Chivington. In April, 1864, near Camp Sanborn on the South Platte, occurred the first collision between troops and Cheyenne Indians since 1857. Other engagements followed within the next few months, resulting in some killing on both sides and considerable losses to the Indians in tipis and horses. From the testimony it seems probable that these earlier difficulties could have been avoided or peaceably ad-

¹ Agent Loree in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1862*, 131-32, 1863. Several thousand Indians of the civilized tribes in the Indian Territory were enrolled in the Confederate service, and the Confederate government negotiated treaties with the Comanche and other western tribes. To maintain their loyalty the Caddo were forced to take refuge with the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Colorado.

² Reports of Governor and Ind. Supt. John Evans and others in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1863*, 121-32, 1864.

³ Agent S. G. Colley, *ibid.*, 134-35.

justed under other management.¹ Early in August a large body of Cheyenne, with some Sioux and Arapaho, made a destructive and bloody raid down the Platte, routing a considerable cavalry force west of Fort Kearney, Neb., destroying a wagon train, killing eleven men and capturing a woman and child, and then swept on down the valley of the Little Blue, in southeastern Nebraska, burning scattered farm houses, killing settlers, and carrying off other women and children.² Although the raid seems to have been the work of the northern hostiles, it intensified the feeling of hatred toward the whole Indian race, and Chivington, in a public speech, announced it as his policy to "kill and scalp all, big and little."³ Four of the captives were afterward rescued and voluntarily delivered at Fort Lyon by the friendlies under Black Kettle, and others were surrendered by the hostiles the next year.

Through the efforts of Major Wynkoop, commanding at Fort Lyon, Colorado, and relying on his promise and that of Governor Evans that they should be protected and unmolested, a large part of the friendly element of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, under Black Kettle, White Antelope, and other signers of the Fort Wise treaty, had withdrawn from the main body about the head of Smoky Hill river and made their camp on Sand creek, some 25 miles northeast from Fort Lyon. They numbered about 500 souls, of whom more than two-thirds were women and children. While thus encamped under military orders and guaranty, with several white men trading among them by permission from the commandant of the post, and with a large United States flag and a smaller white flag displayed above the tipi of the principal chief, they were attacked at daybreak of November 29, 1864, by nearly a thousand mounted Colorado troops, with artillery, under command of Colonel Chivington, and about 150 men, women and children—all who were unable to escape—were there massacred under circumstances of atrocity never exceeded

¹ Downing, Bouser, Wynkoop, in *Condition Ind. Tribes*, 68-75, 1867.

² Palmer in *Trans. Nebr. Hist. Soc.*, II, 197-98, 1887; Governor Evans, pp. 80-90, and statement of Mrs Eubanks, captive, p. 90, in *Condition Ind. Tribes*, 1867.

³ Affidavit of S. E. Browne, *ibid.*, 71.

by the worst savages in America. Children were brained and hacked to pieces, pregnant women were ripped open, stiffened corpses of men, women, and little children the next day were scalped, dismembered, and indecently mutilated, and the bloody scalps and members, hung at saddle bows and hatbands, carried into Denver and there paraded in a public theater. All this under the eye and sanction of Colonel J. M. Chivington, ex-minister of the Gospel. More than one hundred tipis with all their stores were destroyed, and some 600 horses, with a large number of saddles and beaded buckskin dresses, were brought away and sold in Denver. The few warriors made a brave defense, although outnumbered nearly ten to one, and covered the retreat of their families up the creek until beyond pursuit. The attacking party lost 9 killed and 38 wounded.¹ The immediate result of this massacre was to destroy the confidence of those Indians who had hitherto been of friendly disposition and to exasperate the others to the highest pitch of hostility.² A war involving all the tribes swept the whole frontier, particularly along the Platte, whither most of the refugees had fled.

On January 7, 1865, some 500 Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux attacked the military and stage station at Fort Sedgwick (Old Julesburg), Colorado, on the South Platte, capturing the stage with its valuable contents and killing the driver and 14 men of the small garrison, but with considerable loss to them-

¹ See the sworn testimony of civilian and military officers, traders, interpreters, and others in the special investigation of the Chivington massacre, *Condition of the Ind. Tribes: Rep. of the Joint Special Committee*, etc., 26-98, 1867. With the exception of Chivington and Shoup of the attacking party, and Governor Evans of Colorado, the witnesses are practically unanimous as to the friendly character of the murdered Cheyenne, the guaranties previously made to them, and the atrocities perpetrated. The list includes Major Wynkoop, Agent Colley, Colonel Bent, John Smith, Kit Carson, and others. See also Commissioner Cooley (p. 24), Agent Leavenworth (p. 387) and others in *Rept. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1865*; Bancroft, *Hist. of Nev., Col. and Wyo.*, 466, 1890; and Treaty of Little Arkansas, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, II, 889, 1904. The author has also additional details from Indian survivors of the massacre. The most of the devilry seems to have been the work of the hundred-day volunteers under immediate command of Col. George L. Shoup. A few tipis of Arapaho were with the Cheyenne. The creek is more commonly known among the Indians by a name loosely translated "Dry creek."

² Com'r. Cooley, Agent Leavenworth, in *Rept. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1865*.

selves. About a month later they burned the town and cut the telegraph.¹ On February 13 there was a desperate encounter between troops and Indians at Rush creek, Nebraska, northward from Julesburg, and in April another as desperate at Mud springs in the same vicinity, the Indians in both cases being finally driven off with artillery, the troops being under command of Lieutenant-General Collins.² In August and September, General Conner led a strong force into the Powder river country of Wyoming and returned after a spirited engagement with the Arapaho, on Tongue river, near the present Sheridan, destroying their village and capturing more than a thousand horses.³ During his absence a force of perhaps 600 Indians, chiefly Northern Cheyenne under High Wolf, invested the stockade protecting the emigrant crossing at Old Platte Bridge (now Casper), Wyoming, garrisoned at the time by about 100 men, and cut off all but one of a detachment of 27 cavalry approaching the fort, together with 35 others from the garrison who attempted their rescue. Thirteen of the latter were taken and tortured to death in plain view of their comrades within the stockade.⁴

By the persistent effort of Agent Leavenworth, in charge of the Kiowa and Comanche, seconded by Colonel Bent and Kit Carson, the southern tribes, including even the survivors of the Chivington massacre, were induced to come in October, 1865, to a council ground on the Little Arkansas river, near the present Wichita, Kansas, and there make a treaty of peace, with provision for a temporary reservation until a permanent home outside the limits of Kansas could be assigned them. The sixth article of the treaty repudiated and condemned in the strongest terms the Sand Creek massacre and promised repara-

¹ Palmer in *Trans. Nebraska Hist. Soc.*, II, 199, 1887. Bancroft, *Hist. Nev., Col. and Wyo.*, 715, 1890. Also personal Indian information.

² Bancroft, *Hist. Nev., Col. and Wyo.*, 715-16, 1890. There are at least five Rush creeks in western Nebraska. It was probably the one near Lapeer on the North Platte.

³ Palmer in *Trans. Nebraska Hist. Soc.*, II, 197, passim, 1887.

⁴ See Whitehead in *Wyoming Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, 288-92, 1897. This account tallies very exactly with the author's information from Indian participants, who, however, carefully suppress all reference to tortures and mutilations

tion to the surviving sufferers.¹ The Sioux, with the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, continued hostilities. During the next year several conferences were held with various bands, both north and south, with a view to a restoration of peace by an adjustment of differences, the chief difficulty being with the Dog Soldier band of Cheyenne, who strenuously objected to the opening of the Smoky Hill country, on the ground that it was now their best hunting ground.² Negotiations were proceeding toward a successful termination when the whole peace fabric was once more brought to the ground by the ill-advised action of General Hancock, who, despite the most earnest protests of agents Wynkoop and Leavenworth, marched out from Fort Larned in April, 1867, and entirely destroyed a great village of Cheyenne and Sioux, on Pawnee fork, consisting of 300 tipis, with all their contents. At the very time of its destruction, Roman Nose and other chiefs, with a large part of the warriors, had come out to meet the troops, the women and children having stampeded in alarm, remembering the Sand Creek massacre.³

The result was an immediate renewal of active hostilities, continued until brought to a close by the efforts of an influential peace commission appointed by congress to treat with the various tribes. At a great gathering on Medicine Lodge creek, southern Kansas, treaties were concluded on October 21, 1867, with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, and on October 28 with the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, by which they agreed to cease war and all opposition to road building on the Smoky Hill and the Platte, and to the establishment of military posts, and, in lieu of all other territorial claims, to accept reser-

¹ Treaty of Little Arkansas, *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, II, 887-92, 1904; see also summary of land provisions, with maps, in Royce, *Ind. Land Cessions*, *Eighteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, pt. 2, 1899.

² See reports of Captain Gordon and Com'r. Wynkoop in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1866*, 277-79, et seq., 1866. It was proposed to build the Union Pacific railroad across this territory.

³ See discussion of this affair by Supt. Murphy, Agent Wynkoop, and Agent Leavenworth, in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1867*, 292, 309-14, 1868; also report of Peace Commission in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1868*, 38. The village was about 35 miles westward from Fort Larned, Kansas.

vations within what is now Oklahoma. For these concessions they were to receive certain annuities and other goods (that is, rations) for a term of thirty years, together with schools and the usual agency instructors in civilization. Treaties of nearly similar tenor were concluded by the same commission with the Sioux, Crows, and Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, in April and May, 1868.¹ The territory between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, in Oklahoma, was designated as a reservation for the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, but by Executive order of August 10, 1869, the later reservation, now allotted in severalty, was substituted.² The Northern Arapaho were afterward assigned to the Shoshoni reservation in Wyoming, while the Northern Cheyenne were finally placed by Executive order in 1884 on their present reservation at the head of Rosebud river, Montana, just east of the Crows.³

OUTBREAK OF 1868—ARICAREE FORK AND THE WASHITA

Notwithstanding the treaty and their peaceful professions, the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, in the summer of 1868, suddenly began a series of raids and outrages in Kansas, for which this time there was not a shadow of provocation, and to make the enormity of the offense the greater the murders were committed with the very guns and ammunition with which the Indians had just been supplied by the Government at their own urgent request, ostensibly for the purpose of procuring buffalo for their winter meat supply. The first outrage was committed by a party of about 200 Cheyenne warriors, with some Sioux and Arapaho, on Saline river, northward from Fort Harker, Kansas, on August 10. Two days later the same party murdered seventeen settlers on Solomon and Republican rivers, and

¹ See treaties in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, II, 977-89, 998-1015, 1904; Royce, *Ind. Land Cessions*, *Eighteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 846-49, and maps, 1899. For detailed notice of the Medicine Lodge treaty, see Mooney, *Calendar Hist. Kiowa Inds.*, *Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 181-86, 320-21, 1898.

² Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, *Eighteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 846-47, 852-53, 1899; *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, I, 839-41, 1904.

³ Royce, *op. cit.*, 918 and map; *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, I, 860, 1904.

were driven off by a detachment of the Seventh cavalry from Fort Zarah. In addition to the murder of settlers eleven houses were burned and nine women outraged. Simultaneously, attacks were made by other bands on troops and wagon trains in southern Kansas. Within the next three months, exclusive of engagements with troops, these Indians murdered more than 100 settlers in Kansas and eastern Colorado, with the usual accompaniment of torture, mutilation, burning houses, outraged women, and children carried into captivity. At Cimarron crossing, on September 8, a wagon train was attacked and destroyed and fifteen teamsters burned to death.¹

Vigorous measures were at once instituted under management of General Sheridan, commanding the department, and engagements were of almost daily occurrence. On Aricaree fork, eastern Colorado, September 17-25, Colonel (General) Forsyth and a company of fifty scouts successfully held off a force of several hundred Cheyenne warriors, led by Roman Nose, for eight days, until help arrived. Roman Nose himself was killed. On November 27 General Custer, with a strong column of regular and volunteer cavalry, struck a main Cheyenne camp under Black Kettle on the Washita, and entirely destroyed it, killing more than 100 Indians, burning the tipis with all their contents, shooting more than 900 horses, and capturing a number of prisoners. Black Kettle himself was among the slain. The troops lost twenty-one killed, including an entire small detachment under Major Elliott. The engagement, commonly known as the Battle of the Washita, was fought on the site of the present Cheyenne, Oklahoma. The fugitives fled to the Texas panhandle, whence they were brought back in the following spring and temporarily held in the neighborhood of Fort Supply, Oklahoma, on the northern border of the present reservation. Other encounters took place in the summer of 1869, the most important being on May 16, on Spring creek, Nebraska, and on July 11, on Summit Springs creek, Colorado,

¹ Commissioner Taylor, Supt. Murphy, Agent Wynkoop, General Sherman, Little Rock, et al., in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1868*, 2-3, 64-82; *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians*, etc., 1882; Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, 86, passim, 1874.

both fought by General E. A. Carr and the Fifth cavalry, the Indians consisting chiefly of the Dog Soldier band of Cheyenne. In the second engagement the Indians were completely routed, Tall Bull, the chief, and a number of warriors killed, more than 400 horses and mules captured, and the village destroyed.¹ Before the end of the year those who had not escaped to the Sioux country were gathered with the others about Fort Supply, to the number of about 1,100 Arapaho and 1,500 Cheyenne.² In May, 1870, the agency was finally established at Darlington and some civilization work begun.³ The Cheyenne irreconcilables who had gone north to the Sioux continued, with the latter, to make small raids along the frontier.

OUTBREAK OF 1874-75 — ADOBE WALLS — THE SOUTHERN
CAMPAIGN

The doubtful peace continued on the reservation until the spring of 1874, when "nearly all the Comanches and Cheyennes and more than one half of the Kiowas"⁴ went out together on the warpath. The immediate inciting cause of the outbreak was the establishment of a company of buffalo hunters from Dodge City, Kansas, in an abandoned trading post known as the Adobe Walls, on the South Canadian river, in the Texas panhandle, from which headquarters they were slaughtering buffalo by thousands within the guaranteed hunting grounds of the Indians. Another special grievance with the Cheyenne was the stealing of a large herd of horses by a party apparently from Dodge City, and a disastrous encounter with the cavalry in an attempt at retaliation. Most of the Arapaho and 280 out of about 2,100 Cheyenne remained quietly near the agency.⁵ In

¹ See *Record of Engagements* (for 1868-9), 1882; Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, 1874; Forsyth, A Frontier Fight, *Harpers Mag.*, June, 1895 (Battle of Aricaree fork); Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Inds., Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 187-88, 1898 (Battle of Washita). The author has also personal information from Indians and other actors in the various engagements.

² Agent Darlington in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1869*, 382, 1870.

³ Agent Darlington in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1870*, 265.

⁴ Com'r. Smith in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1874*, 10.

⁵ Agents Miles and Haworth in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1874*; Mooney, *Calendar Hist. Kiowa Inds., Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 199, *passim*, 1898.

the meantime the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho and the Sioux were active in Wyoming and Nebraska.

In the last week of June, 1874, a combined force of Comanche, Cheyenne, and Kiowa, numbering 700 warriors, and led by Quana, chief of the Comanche, attacked the fort of the buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls, which was defended only by some 25 men with a small field gun. After several days of close siege, but without venturing upon a general assault, the confederates withdrew with the loss of about a dozen warriors killed. The defenders lost only three men, but soon afterward abandoned the fort.¹

On July 3 a party of Cheyenne attacked and destroyed a small wagon train in charge of Patrick Hennessey and three other men, where now is the town of Hennessey, Oklahoma. The four men were killed, Hennessey himself being seized by some Osage who came up at the same time, tied to a wagon wheel and burned alive upon a pile of grain taken from his wagon.² Several employés having been killed, troops were sent to protect the agency, and warning sent to friendly Cheyenne to come in, resulting in the return of White Shield and others to the number of about thirty families, who joined those under Whirlwind already there.³

On July 4 a severe defeat was inflicted on the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho by Captain Bates, Second cavalry, on Badwater creek, Wyoming, as a result of which most of them soon afterward came in and surrendered.⁴

In the south the campaign was organized by the formation of four columns from different directions, to converge simultaneously upon the rendezvous of the hostiles about the heads of Red river and the Washita. Colonel Mackenzie, Fourth cavalry, moved north from Fort Concho, Texas; Major Price, Eighth cavalry, moved down the Canadian from New Mexico;

¹ Agent Miles in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1874*, 233-34; *Record of Engagements*, 40, 1882; Mooney, *Calendar History Kiowa Inds. Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, II, 203, 1898.

² Miles and Mooney, *op. cit.*

³ Agent Miles, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Record of Engagements*, 40, 1882

Colonel Davidson, Tenth cavalry, moved west from Fort Sill, Oklahoma; and Colonel (General) Miles, with parts of the Fifth infantry and Sixth cavalry, moved south from Fort Supply.¹

The result was that the hostiles were unable to make any successful stand for resistance and the campaign resolved itself into a pursuit of scattered fugitive bands. On August 30, Miles struck the Indians on the headwaters of the Washita and drove them back, in a running fight, across Red river and out upon the Staked plain. On September 26-27, Mackenzie, after two preliminary skirmishes, surprised the main Cheyenne camp on upper Red river, destroying more than 100 tipis and capturing their entire outfit, including more than 1,400 horses and mules. On October 24, Major Schofield, of Davidson's column, captured on Elk creek an entire Comanche camp of more than 300 men, women, and children, with horses exceeding 1,500. In consequence of this blow, others soon after came in and surrendered, with their arms and horses. On November 8, near McClellan creek, in the Texas panhandle, Lieutenant (General) Baldwin, Fifth infantry, struck and defeated the Cheyenne, rescuing two children of the Germaine family, whose parents, brother, and sister had been murdered in Kansas two months before. Two older sisters were surrendered in the spring. The defeated Cheyenne were pursued by Captain Viele with a detachment of the Tenth cavalry for nearly a hundred miles. On December 28, Captain Keyes of the same regiment captured an entire band of Cheyenne on the North Canadian after nearly as long a chase. Active operations were kept up throughout the winter, which was one of unprecedented severity, with such result that the Indian power of endurance was broken, small parties drifted into the agencies, and at last, on March 6, 1875, the main body of the Cheyenne, under Gray Beard, Stone Calf, Bull Bear, and other chiefs, surrendered at Darlington, where they were disarmed and their ponies confiscated.²

¹ Ibid., 41-42; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 163-64, 1896.

² For campaign of 1874-75, see *Record of Engagements*, 38-48, 1882; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 156, passim, 1896; Com'r. Smith, Supt. Hoag, Agents Miles and Haworth, in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1875*; Mooney, *Calendar Hist. Kiowa Inds.*, *Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am Ethnol.*, pt. 2, 199-218, 1898.

Of their condition at the time, their agent says: "A more wretched and poverty-stricken community than these people presented after they were placed in the prison camp it would be difficult to imagine. Bereft of lodges and the most ordinary of cooking apparatus; with no ponies or other means of transportation for wood or water; half-starved, and very little to eat, and scarcely anything that could be called clothing, they were truly objects of pity; and for the first time the Cheyennes seemed to realize the power of the government, and their own inability to cope successfully therewith."¹

By the opening of June, 1875, most of the hostile Comanche and Kiowa had come into Fort Sill and surrendered, and the outbreak was at an end. About seventy prisoners were selected for military confinement at Fort Marion, Florida, including thirty-three Cheyenne and two Arapaho. While the Cheyenne prisoners were being manacled at the Darlington agency, April 6, a struggle ensued, resulting in the stampede of a large part of the tribe to the sand hills on the river just above the agency, where they had hidden a quantity of arms before surrendering. A sharp engagement ensued in which eleven Indians were killed and a number of soldiers wounded. Most of the fugitives afterward gave themselves up, but some escaped to the north. One party of about seventy Cheyenne, who had not surrendered, in attempting to reach the Sioux country, was intercepted on Sappa creek, northwest Kansas, April 23, by Lieutenant Henely of the Sixth cavalry, and nineteen warriors killed, the camp burned, and a large number of horses captured.² On the last day of September, 1875, the agent in charge at Darlington reported 1,611 Cheyenne present, 411 fled to the north, and thirty-three sent south as prisoners, a total of 2,055 Southern Cheyenne. Of Arapaho there were present 1,649, fled north thirteen, prisoners to Florida two, a total of 1,664 Southern Arapaho. At the same time the Northern Cheyenne proper, in

¹ Agent Miles in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1875*, 269.

² *Record of Engagements*, 46-47, 1882; Agent Miles in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1875*, 268-69. It was officially reported that Black Horse, the prisoner who made the first resistance to the manacling process, was killed while trying to escape. He was wounded, but recovered, and is still living near Cantonment.

Dakota, were reported at 1,727, a total for all the Cheyenne of 3,782 souls. The Northern Arapaho were reported at 1,552, making the Arapaho total 3,216.¹ The two tribes in 1906, north and south, numbered officially 3,334 and 1,758. Notwithstanding their great losses in tipis, horses, and equipments during the outbreak, it does not appear from the official war record that the Cheyenne, north and south, lost more than about seventy killed during the entire period.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN — CUSTER MASSACRE — MACKENZIE

The western Sioux, led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, with the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, still refused to come in upon reservations, and continued to rove about the country, coming into frequent collision with troops and citizens, with the result that early in 1876 Generals Terry and Crook were directed to begin active operations against them.²

On March 17, Colonel Reynolds, with about 500 men of the Second and Third cavalry, struck the camp of Crazy Horse on Little Powder river, Montana, routing the Indians, more than a third of whom were Cheyenne, destroying more than a hundred tipis and capturing a "perfect magazine of ammunition, war material and general supplies."³

On June 17, General Crook, with about a thousand men of the Second and Third cavalry, Fourth and Ninth infantry, together with 262 Crow and Shoshoni scouts, encountered the main force of the hostiles in a cañon near the head of Rosebud river, Montana, the Indians themselves beginning the attack. After a desperate fight the Indians were finally driven off, but with considerable loss on both sides. It was now apparent that Crazy Horse had been reinforced from the reservations.⁴

In the meantime General Terry had concentrated at the junction of Powder river and the Yellowstone, Montana, a strong force of about a thousand men, including the whole of the Seventh cavalry. Here he was joined by Colonel Gibbon with

¹ Com'r. Smith (43, 49), Agent Miles (268), *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1875*.

² *Record of Engagements*, 49-50.

³ *Ibid.*, 50; Bourke, *On the Border*, 270-80, 1891.

⁴ *Record of Engagements*, 51-52; Bourke, *op. cit.*, 311, *passim*.

nearly 500 more men of the Second cavalry and Seventh infantry. By Terry's order Gibbon's column, on June 22, moved up the Bighorn river, while General Custer, with the whole of the Seventh cavalry, moved up the Rosebud. The result was the disastrous "Custer massacre" on the Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876, in which General Custer with five entire troops of the Seventh cavalry, to the number of more than 200 officers and men, lost their lives at the hands of an overwhelming force of Sioux and Cheyenne, with a few Northern Arapaho. At the same time, and again on the following day, the rest of the Seventh cavalry, under the immediate command of Major Reno and Captain Benteen, was desperately engaged in the immediate neighborhood with the loss of 50 killed and more than that number wounded, the enemy finally retiring on the approach of the main column under Terry and Gibbon. The Indian force consisted of Sioux under Crazy Horse, Gall, Sitting Bull, and others, with Cheyenne under Ice Bear, making an immense camp of perhaps 8,000 men, women, and children, with an officially estimated minimum of 2,500 warriors. The whole number killed with Custer and Reno was 259, in addition to 50 wounded, two of them mortally.¹

Numerous minor encounters took place throughout the summer and fall, mostly to the disadvantage of the Indians. Before the end of October some 3,000 had surrendered or been taken. Sitting Bull, Gall, and others, with their followers, fled into Canada. On November 25 Colonel Mackenzie, Fourth cavalry, with a strong force of nearly 1,500 cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and 363 Indian scouts, struck the main camp of the Northern Cheyenne on Crazy Woman creek, Wyoming, killing a number of Indians, destroying 173 tipis with all their contents, and capturing about 500 ponies, with a loss to the troops of but five men killed.² In consequence of this defeat,

¹ *Record of Engagements*, 52-57; Robinson in *South Dakota Hist. Coll.*, II, 426-38, 1904; Finerty, *Warpath and Bivouac*, 181-197, 1890; Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 198-211, 1896. Finerty (pages 455-58) gives the official roster of killed and wounded, but seems to be in error in his count.

² *Record of Engagements*, 63-65, 1882; Bourke, *Mackenzie's Last Fight with the Cheyennes*, 1890; Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 388-96, 1891; Miles,

Dull Knife, Little Wolf, and other Cheyenne chiefs soon after came in and surrendered. A vigorous winter campaign by Colonel (General) Miles completed the surrender of most of the remaining hostile Sioux and Cheyenne in the spring of 1877.¹ In the summer of the same year the Northern Cheyenne, to the number of nearly 1,000, were brought down to the reservation occupied by their kindred in Indian Territory, leaving only a few families among the Sioux at Red Cloud agency. The Northern Arapaho, by their own request, were gathered on the Shoshoni reservation in Wyoming. Others of the Northern Cheyenne went south in the following year. In accord with the terms of surrender they were allowed to retain their guns and horses.²

FLIGHT OF THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE

A large part of the removed Northern Cheyenne, under the leadership of Dull Knife, Little Wolf, Hog, and other chiefs, refused to accept the situation and insisted on being returned to the north. This feeling of dissatisfaction, to men accustomed to a cool climate and pure water, was intensified by the prevalence of a malarial epidemic, by which 2,000 Indians were prostrated at one time, so that the supply of medicine was exhausted and hundreds of sufferers were refused relief. Notwithstanding the watch kept on their movements, they broke away on the night of September 9, 1878, to the number of 89 men and 246 women and children, leaving their tipis standing to deceive the soldiers. Hundreds of troops were at once started from half a dozen posts to overtake or intercept them, while others were ordered out along the line of the Kansas Pacific and Union Pacific railroads, to prevent their crossing, and trains and locomotives with steam up were held in waiting to be instantly ready on the flash of the telegraph. In spite of all, this desperate little band of fugi-

Personal Recollections, 221-56, 1896; Finerty, *Warpath*, 293-94, 1890; Bourke (*On the Border*) makes it 205 tipis and 705 ponies, besides as many more horses killed by the Cheyenne themselves.

¹ *Record of Engagements*, 66-69; Bourke, *On the Border*, 393-96; Miles, *op. cit.*, 221-56.

² Com'r. Hayt and Agent Irwin in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1877*, 19, 62; *Record of Engagements*, 78.

tives swept across Oklahoma and Kansas, burning houses, killing more than forty settlers, and committing other outrages, remounting with 250 fresh captured horses, crossing the Kansas Pacific road between the infantry patrols and a few hours ahead of the pursuing cavalry, and then the Union Pacific in Nebraska by the same narrow margin of pursuit, until they reached the sand hills on the Dakota border, where, on October 10, the exhausted troops temporarily gave up the chase. In their flight of more than five hundred miles, besides the damage inflicted on the settlements, the Cheyenne warriors had fought three engagements with more than double their own number, with a loss to the Indians of 15 killed. From two prisoners taken later it was learned that they were trying to reach their kinsmen, supposed to be in southern Montana, where, if allowed to remain, they intended to surrender, but otherwise would push on to join Sitting Bull in Canada.

In the meantime, however, the most of the outstanding Northern Cheyenne, to the number of 182, were already on their way to the south in charge of the noted Government scout, Ben Clark, who, with rare tact and courage, succeeded in avoiding the track of the raiders and keeping his own prisoners in ignorance of what was going on until he had them safely landed at Fort Reno in Oklahoma.

Reinforced by more than 400 fresh troops and a number of Sioux from the Red Cloud agency, the pursuit of the fugitives in the sand hills was resumed, with the result that on October 23 Captain Johnson, Third cavalry, captured Dull Knife's band, 149 in number, and brought them to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, where they were confined in an empty barrack room, still protesting that they would die rather than be taken back to Indian Territory. The remainder of the fugitives, under Little Wolf, had escaped under cover of a snow-storm.

"The headmen of the Cheyennes then in confinement at Fort Robinson were notified by the military on the 3d of January [1879] that the authorities in Washington had decided to send them back south. On the next day, after consultation with the rest of the captives, Wild Hog, as spokesman, gave an unequi-

vocal negative to the proposition, declaring their intention to die before complying with the order. The prisoners numbered at this time forty-nine men, fifty-one women, and forty-eight children. It was then attempted to starve and freeze them into submission, and for five days they were deprived of food and fuel, and for three days of water also. This experiment proving ineffectual, on the 8th of January it was decided to arrest Wild Hog as the leader of the opposition. He was with difficulty induced to come out of the prison, and after a struggle in which a soldier was stabbed, he was ironed. Upon this the Indians in the prison barricaded the doors, covered the windows with cloth to conceal their movements, tore up the floor, and constructed rifle-pits to command all the windows.

"As early as November 1, 1878, Red Cloud had requested that their knives be taken from these prisoners to prevent them from taking their own lives in case they should be ordered south. This, however, appears not to have been done, neither had they been wholly disarmed, for they were the possessors of at least fifteen guns (in addition to the two obtained from the dead sentinels) and some revolvers, and were well supplied with knives.

"About 10 o'clock on the night of January 9, the Indians commenced firing upon the sentinels, killing two and wounding a corporal in the guard-room, and made their escape through the windows, the women being driven in front of the men in their flight. They were pursued by the troops, and most of their number were eventually killed."¹

Of the 149 men, women, and children under Dull Knife who had been held at Fort Robinson, 32 were killed in the desperate sortie and 71 were retaken, leaving only 46 to get away, of whom 19 were warriors. After several skirmishes and escapes these were intercepted near the fort on January 22 by Captain Wessells with four troops of the Fourth cavalry, and, on still refusing to surrender, the troops charged their position, killing 23 and capturing nine, several of whom were wounded, leaving, so far as known, only 14 of the whole band to make their final escape and join the other fugitives with Little Wolf.

¹ Com'r. Hayt in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff.*, xvii, 1879.

On March 25, Little Wolf's band was surrounded by a force under Lieutenant Clark, Second cavalry, near Boxelder creek, South Dakota, and surrendered, being 33 men, and 81 women and children. They were brought in under escort of the troops to Fort Keogh, Montana. Of the supposed 335 who had broken away from the southern agency, 72 were officially reported killed, 206 retaken, and only about 60 finally escaped.¹ However, it might be said that they won their fight, for, as it was evident that the Northern Cheyenne could not profitably be held in Oklahoma, steps were taken for their return to their old home. The removal was accomplished by instalments within the next few years, the transfer being made first to the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation in South Dakota and thence to Montana, where they were finally assigned a reservation in 1884,² although a large number continued to reside at Pine Ridge for some years longer.

LATER HISTORY — CIVILIZATION, ALLOTMENT, AND CITIZENSHIP

In July, 1885, some trouble occurred on the southern reservation between the cattlemen and the Indians, emphasized by the killing of the son of chief Little Robe and the stealing of Indian stock by white thieves. The Cheyenne again assumed a hostile attitude and a large force of troops was called out, but serious trouble was averted by the prompt action of Generals Sheridan and Miles, who personally investigated conditions on the ground. The cattlemen and lawless white men were ordered out of the country and the agency placed under the efficient management of Captain (General) J. M. Lee until affairs were in

¹ *Record of Engagements*, 79-85; Com'r. Hayt in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1878*, xxii-xxiv; Com'r. Hayt (xvii-xviii) and Agent Miles (58-59) in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1879*; Jackson ("H. H."), *Century of Dishonor*, 66-102, 1881. According to the official *Record of Engagements*, Dull Knife was killed in one of the encounters after the escape from Fort Robinson. This is denied by the Cheyenne, who assert that he escaped to the Sioux, and according to a statement by the agent in charge at Pine Ridge it would appear that Dull Knife with a band of about 120 Cheyenne had been for some time residing at that agency until transferred to Fort Keogh, Montana, in November, 1879 (McGillcuddy in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff.*, 39, 1880).

² See the various Cheyenne references in the *Annual Reports of the Com'r. of Indian Affairs* from 1881 to 1886.



H'ONIIL-WOTOMA, "WOLF ROBE"—CHEYENNE CHIEF AND CEREMONIAL LEADER, AET. 58

a settled condition. At the same time a force of 120 young warriors was enlisted by the military authorities to serve as scouts at the neighboring posts.¹

The close of the war period and the settlement of the Indians in permanent homes gave opportunity for the inauguration of civilizing and educational work. Under the administration of Agent John D. Miles, from 1872 to 1884, schools were established and farming begun among the Southern Cheyenne, together with regular missionary work by several denominational bodies. The Northern Cheyenne were about ten years later to come under similar influences. About the close of 1889 the Messiah doctrine of the Ghost Dance religion took strong hold upon both bands, as upon nearly all the other tribes of the plains and mountains, the excitement continuing, with waning power, for several years.² A principal leader of the movement among the Northern Cheyenne was Porcupine, who still keeps up his apostleship along the line of temperance reform.

In November, 1890, a radical change in the affairs of the confederated Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho was brought about by the negotiation of an allotment agreement, by which each individual was confirmed in possession of 160 acres of land, inalienable for a term of years, the rest of the reservation being then sold and the proceeds placed to the credit of the Indians, who, by the same process, were invested with the rights of citizenship. The agreement was ratified by Congress in the following March, and the reservation formally opened by proclamation on April 19, 1892.³ It is now occupied by more than 200,000 white people, among whom the aboriginal owners are practically submerged. Those upon the Montana reservation are conservative and still backward in regard to civilization in spite of Government and missionary effort.

¹ Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 432-34, 1896; Agent Dyer in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1885*, 73-81; Acting Agent Captain Lee in *Rep. Com'r. Ind. Aff. for 1886*, 114-24.

² See Mooney, Ghost Dance Religion, *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, pt. 2, 1896.

³ *Ind. Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Kappler ed., 1 (Laws), 415-19, 955-58, 1904.

CHEYENNE CAMP CIRCLE

DIVISIONS

ORIGINAL :

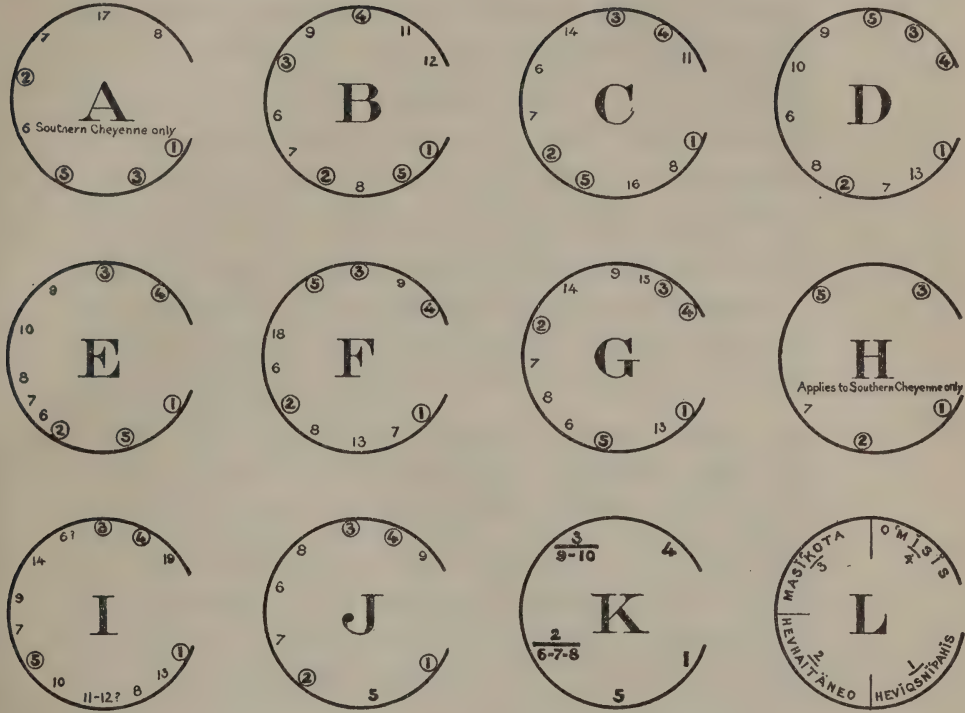
1. Hev'qs-ní''pahís.
2. Hévhaitā'neo.
3. Māsí''kotā *alias* Hotāmitā'neo.
4. O'mí'sís.
5. Sūtaio (an incorporated tribe).

SECONDARY :

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Wó'tapio. 7. Oívimána. 8. Hisiometā'neo. | } | Offshoots from No. 2. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Óqtogó'na. 10. Hów'nowa. | } | Offshoots from No. 3. |

PSEUDO-DIVISIONS :

- 11, *a.* Anskówínís, "narrow nose bridge" (Mooney, 1891). Local band of No. 4. Either this or No. 12 is the "Outlaw band" of Dorsey.
- 12, *b.* Pí'nútgú, "Penate'ka Comanche" (Mooney, 1891). The friendlies of 1874-75.
- 13, *c.* Móíseo, "Monsoni." Traditional friendly tribe, the Monsoni, represented by a few descendants among the Cheyenne.
- 14, *d.* Moqtā'vhaitāneo, "Black Men," i. e., Ute. A family group, perhaps of Ute descent.
- 15, *e.* Ná'koimana, "Bear band." A family group among the Southern Cheyenne, from a former chief named "Bear."
- 16, *f.* Dzít'sí'stās, "Cheyenne." Claimed by some as the name of a nucleus division, as well as of the whole tribe.
- 17, *g.* Máhoyom, "Red tipi." A family group of No. 10.
- 18, *h.* Totóimana, "Backward," i. e., "Shy" band. A family group of the Northern Cheyenne.
- 19, *i.* Wóqpotsít, "White Wolf." A family group of mixed No. 2 and No. 5, taking its name from a chief.



CHEYENNE CAMP CIRCLE

AUTHORITIES: **A**—Southern Cheyenne Circle, according to the Clark MS., 1885 (*vide* Grinnell letter). **B**—Mooney, first information, 1891; Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnology, pt. 2, 1896, fig. 100, p. 1025. **C**—Howling Wolf (born 1849), informant, January 1902. **D**—Grinnell, letter, January 1903, and in *Congress of Americanists* for 1902, 1905. **E**—Big Jake (born 1834), informant, June 1903. **F**—Mad Wolf (born ca. 1829), informant, June 1903. **G**—Wolf Robe (born ca. 1840), informant, 1904. **H**—Dorsey, *The Cheyenne: Ceremonial Organization*, pl. 11, March 1905. **I**—Dorsey, *The Cheyenne: The Sun Dance*, pl. xix, May 1905. **J**—Lone Wolf (born 1838), informant, February 1906. **K**—Order of divisions about 1840. **L**—Probable earliest arrangement, before incorporation of Sutaio.

were new appointees, while the other four were older men selected from the retiring ex-chiefs to serve as principal advisers to the new body. These four older chiefs were the head chiefs of the tribe, and were of equal rank, unless they chose to delegate supreme authority to one of their own number. They, as well as the subordinate chiefs, were usually also priests or officers in one or another of the sacred ritual or warrior societies. They were chosen from the different bands according to ability, without any limitation of quota for a band. This council was symbolized by a bundle of forty-four red-painted invitation sticks, still preserved with the sacred medicine arrows, and formerly sent around when occasion arose to convene the assembly. As previously noted, the Cheyenne themselves claim to have adopted this system from the traditional Ówū'qeo, exterminated by them shortly after crossing the Missouri. Regular elections for chiefs are still held among the Southern Cheyenne, with more or less of the old ceremony.

The tribal organization, as among the Plains Indians generally, was based on the camp circle. Under this system the tribe was composed of ten principal divisions, including the incorporated Sutaio, each of which occupied a definite section of the great camp circle when the whole tribe was assembled for the celebration of some important function, such as the annual Sun Dance. The camp circle, like the single tipi, opened toward the east, and the order of progression followed the course of the sun, from the entrance at the east, around by south and west to north and the place of beginning. At the Sun Dance of the Southern Cheyenne in 1893, the author counted more than 400 tipis in the great circle, which was nearly a mile in diameter. Before the separation of the Northern Cheyenne it may easily have made 600 tipis.

The author's special work among the Cheyenne for the last five years depends for its accuracy upon a correct knowledge of the tribal camp circle. Particular attention was therefore given to this subject, which among the Cheyenne is particularly difficult of solution owing to the permanent withdrawal of a large portion of the tribe, the incorporation of an alien people, the

absorption of a whole division by a war society, and the formation of new groupings as the old tribal bond has weakened. Previous statements of the camp circle have been made by Clark,¹ Mooney,² Grinnell,³ and Dorsey (*a* and *b*),⁴ the first and fourth of these dealing only with the southern part of the tribe, and no two being entirely alike. The following statement of the names and order of the recognized divisions is now submitted as the result of repeated consultation, both separately and in council, with the oldest and most generally recognized authorities in the tribe, together with numerous other representatives of each section. The forms vary somewhat according to dialectic differences. It is evident that in some instances the divisions are older than their existing names. Almost every name has received more than one interpretation :

1. *Hevī' qs-nī' pahis*, alias *Hevī' sts-unī' pahis* (singular, *Hevīqs-nī' pa*), "aortas closed, by burning." All authorities agree that this was an important division and came first in the circle. The name is said to have originated from several of the band in an emergency having once made the roasted aorta of a buffalo do duty as a pipe. Grinnell gives this story, and also an alternate one, which renders it "small windpipes," from a choking sickness sent as a punishment for offending a medicine beaver. The name, however, in its etymology, indicates something closed or shriveled by burning. The beaver story exists, but the beaver tabu is not limited to members of this division, one of the most prominent examples, Iron Shirt, being a member of No. 8. Many such tabus depend upon the shield carried by the individual, and cease for him when the shield is discarded. The Clark manuscript renders it "smoky lodges." *Aorta band*—Dorsey.

2. *Sūtai'o* (singular, *Sū'tai*), meaning unknown. Formerly a

¹ Ben Clark, *Ethnology and Philology of the Cheyennes*, MS., about 1885.

² Ghost Dance Religion, *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, 1892-93 (1896). This was based on the author's first information, obtained in 1891.

³ Social Organization of the Cheyennes, in *Cong. Americanists*, N. Y. Meeting, 1902 (1905).

⁴ *a*, The Cheyenne : Ceremonial Organization, *Field Columbian Museum Pub.*, March, 1905 ; *b*, The Cheyenne : The Sun Dance, *ibid.*, May, 1905.

distinct tribe, but now incorporated, as already noted. Grinnell puts them in the north part of the circle; Dorsey and one of the author's Indian informants put them northwest; the Clark manuscript, and all but one of the author's Indian informants, including the hereditary chief and his mother, the oldest woman of the band, put them south, extending southwest. The discrepancy may arise from a possibility that, being an adopted people, their place in the circle was not at first definitely fixed. The majority of the band is now settled on the Washita about Clinton, Oklahoma. *Half Cheyenne band* — Dorsey.

3. *Hévhaitä'neo* (singular, *Hevhaitän*), "hair men," i. e., "fur men." Said to have been so called because in early days they ranged farthest to the southwest, remote from the traders on the Missouri, and continued to wear fur robes for common use after the other bands had adopted strouding and calico. Another explanation is that, ranging farther south to steal horses, they were accustomed to carry extra reatas woven from buffalo hair, the same word, *eva*, meaning both fur and rope. They were a large and important division, and formed the advance of the emigration to the Arkansas in 1833, for which reason the name is sometimes used as synonymous with Southern Cheyenne. Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are offshoots from this division. *Hairy band* — Dorsey.

4. *Ov'vimána* (singular, *Oivimán*), "itch, hives, or scabby people" (*óiv*, itch, hives; *óists*, scab; *man*, a band). An offshoot of the *Hévhaitä'neo* (No. 3). The name originated about 1840, when a band of the *Hévhaitä'neo*, under a chief known as Blue Horse, became infected from having used a mangy buffalo-hide for a saddle blanket. Another authority makes the origin much more recent, dating from about 1860, when a subordinate chief named Bear Tongue, who died about 1878 and whose son is still living, became infected with the itch, and communicated the disease to his immediate followers. They have become an important division. According to Grinnell, the name is also applied as a nickname to a part of the Northern Cheyenne on lower Tongue river, Montana, "because, it is said, Badger, a principal man among them, had a skin disease." *Scabby band*, *Hive band* — Dorsey.

5. *Hisiometä'neo* (singular, *Hisiometän*), "ridge men," referring to the ridge or long slope of a hill. Another offshoot from the *Hévhaitä'neo*. The name is said to have originated some sixty years ago, from their having formerly ranged at the head of Smoky Hill river, in that portion of Colorado known to the Cheyenne as the "ridge country"; or, according to another authority, from habitually ranging upon the Staked plain in association with the Comanche. They are commonly said to have originated from some Sutaio men who intermarried with *Hévhaitä'neo* women before the regular incorporation of the Sutaio tribe. One authority makes them of *Mäsi'kotä* origin. *Ridge men* — Dorsey.

6. *Wö'tapio* (singular, *Wö'tap*), "eaters," from the Sioux word, *wota*, "to eat." A small division, perhaps of Sioux admixture. Authorities agree that the name is of Sioux origin, but while some (Big Jake, born 1834, and others) claim the division as an offshoot from No. 3, others (Lone Wolf, born 1838, and others) dispute this, and say that it is an old division. The facts that the band is a small one, and that the name is foreign and a duplication of the native name of a principal division, seem to indicate that the division is not ancient. *Cheyenne Sioux* (?) — Dorsey.

7. *Mäsi'kotä* or *Masiskota* (singular, *Masi'kot*), of doubtful meaning, interpreted as "corpse from a scaffold" (Clark MS.), or "ghost head, i. e., gray hair" (Grinnell), but more probably from a root denoting "wrinkled," or "drawn up," as applied to old tipi skins or old buckskin dresses; from this root comes *masi'skot*, "cricket," referring to the doubling up of the legs; the same idea of "skin drawn up" may underlie the interpretation "corpse from a scaffold." No satisfactory reason is assigned for the name. This is one of the leading divisions in the tribe. For some cause, apparently between 70 and 80 years ago, all the men of this division joined in a body the *Hotámitä'neo* (Dog Soldier) warrior society, so that the two names became practically synonymous until the society name supplanted the division name, which is now obsolete, the *Hotámitä'neo*, with their families, being considered owners of that part of the circle

originally occupied by the Măsi'kotă, viz, next to the last section, adjoining the O'mi'sis (No. 10), who camped immediately north of the entrance. The division — or society — is frequently known as *Mi'stai-Vihinot*, "owl eyebrows," or simply *Vihinot*, originally a nickname applied to Cedar Grove, a chief of the Dog Soldiers about forty years ago and still living, who never pulled out his eyebrows according to common Indian custom. *Dogmen band* — Dorsey.

8. *Hów'nowa* (singular, 'Hów'now'), "poor." A small division, commonly regarded as an offshoot of No. 7, either directly or by subdivision from the Oqtogöna (No. 9). They are now practically extinct — possibly in consequence of the cholera of 1849 — and Lone Wolf (born 1838) says that those of them of his own age, whose fathers were called *Hów'nowa*, are now merged with the Heviqsní'pahis (No. 1). No reason is given for the name, which is of plain etymology. *Poor People* — Dorsey.

9. *Óqtogö'na* or *Óqtoóna* (singular, *Óqtogón*). This name has been interpreted as "bare shins," or "no leggings," but is claimed by one of the best authorities in the tribe (Lone Wolf) to indicate "prominent lower jaws," from *hst'og* (plural, *histogonots*), "jaw bone." No reason is assigned for the name. This division, like No. 8, is said to have been originally a band of Măsi'kotă. It is now virtually extinct, those who claim the descent being scattered among the other divisions. According to Grinnell, its decline is due to the great cholera epidemic of 1849. *Prominent Jaws* — Dorsey.

10. *O'mi'sis* (singular, *Ómistsis*), "eaters." The meaning of the name is plain, but its origin is disputed, some authorities claiming it as the name of an early chief of the division, while Grinnell gives two stories, one, that it was bestowed because the members of this division "were not scrupulous as to their food," some preferring tainted meat; the other, that, because of their superior hunting energy, the men of this band had always plenty to eat (cf. *Wó'tapio*, No. 6). This was the largest and most important division in the tribe and now constitutes the majority of the Northern Cheyenne, for which portion of the

tribe the name is therefore frequently used as a synonym. Before the tribe was divided they occupied that portion of the circle immediately north of the eastern entrance, thus completing the circle. After the separation their next neighbors in the circle, the Māsī'kotā, alias Hotāmitā'neo, were considered as the last division in order. *Eaters, Northern Cheyennes*—Dorsey.

Besides these generally recognized ten divisions, we find a dozen or more names or nicknames locally applied to small family or residential groups both north and south. None of these, so far as known, is recognized as constituting a proper division with a fixed place in the circle, although it is entirely probable that if the tribal development had not been rudely disturbed by the advent of the white man, several of them would in time have taken their places along with the Oīvimána and others of recent historic origin.¹

From the difference of opinion among the older men as to the exact circle position of the five more recent subdivisions with reference to the two principal divisions from which they derive their origin, it would seem that these minor divisions had no definite order beyond the rule which required them to set up their tipis adjoining those of the parent division. Thus, Nos. 8 and 9 adjoined No. 7, but whether before or after in the circle seems to have been of minor consequence. On one occasion, at the Sun Dance gathering, an informant had seen the Oīvimána camp behind their parent division, the Hévhaitā'neo. With lapse of time it can hardly be doubted that a rule would have been definitely established.

BASIS OF TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

What do these divisions represent? Following the old Morgan theory of a generation ago,² which based all primitive society on the clan or gens as a necessary unit, it has been stated by a distinguished writer on the Plains tribes that these are true exogamic clans, in which, until a very recent period a man was

¹ For list and description, see under "Cheyenne" in the *Handbook of American Indians*, pt. 1, 1907, and the description of the accompanying plate XII.

² Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, *Smithsonian Cont. Knowledge*, 1871; and *Ancient Society*, 1877.

forbidden to marry a woman of the same division, and in which the children were always of the clan of the mother. This statement appears to rest chiefly on the testimony of an educated half-breed of the tribe, who, while exceptionally well versed in the language and recent history of the Cheyenne, is not in touch with their traditional, religious, or ceremonial life. It is directly contradicted by the testimony of all the recognized priestly authorities and leaders of societies with whom the author has consulted; of Captain W. P. Clark in his *Indian Sign Language* (pp. 229 and 335, 1885); of Mr Ben Clark, official interpreter at Fort Reno for more than thirty years and author of an extended monograph on the tribe; and of the Reverend Rodolphe Petter, for sixteen years resident missionary among the Cheyenne and the only white man who has mastered the language and reduced it to grammatic analysis. It is also in contravention to the results of Kroeber, Swanton, and the present author in other fields, all tending to show that the clan or gentile system is probably lacking in a majority of the Plains tribes, and, in fact, instead of being universal, is really confined to a very limited area of the northern continent.¹ Instead of being the foundation of primitive society, as was formerly assumed, it is now known to be an artificial product of a comparatively advanced stage of sedentary culture.

¹ As the result of his earliest researches among the Plains tribes, the author stated in his monograph on the Ghost Dance Religion (*Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, 956, 1896): "There seems to be no possible trace of a clan or gentile system among the Arapaho, and the same remark holds good of the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche. . . . It is very doubtful if it exists at all among the prairie tribes generally." Later investigation in the same area confirmed this opinion, as expressed in the author's paper on the Kiowa (*Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, 227, 1898): "The clan system does not exist among the Kiowa, and there is no evidence that they have ever had it. . . . It is by no means universal, and it is doubtful if it exists at all among the Athapascan tribes of British America, the tribes of the Columbia region, Oregon, or California, or any of the recognized Shoshonean stock, with the exception of the Hopi. The Cheyenne and the Sioux of the Plains seem to know as little of it as do the Kiowa." Kroeber, in 1902, made the denial positive for the Arapaho proper (The Arapaho, *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 8, May 1902), and Swanton, after a careful canvass of the whole subject (Social Organization of American Tribes, *Am. Anthropol.*, VII, Oct.-Dec. 1905), shows that the system is absent from almost the whole of the western and northern area.

In tribes which have the clan system, as the Cherokee and the Caddo, it is so much a part of their daily life that it can hardly escape notice in even the most cursory investigation. It has persisted with them through a century of wars, removals, and pressure of civilization, and will probably endure as long as their tribal identity. It is inconceivable that a powerful tribe like the Cheyenne, not yet thirty years from the buffalo hunt and the war path, should have voluntarily thrown it away, as has been claimed, within living memory. The so-called "clan shields" and "clan tipis" are a matter of individual or close family proprietorship, and may exist at the same time in different divisions, and, with a possible single exception, the same is true of the "clan tabus."

In regard to the exogamic rule which has been claimed for these divisions, the oldest authorities state most positively, on the contrary, that as by tribal custom a young man on marrying usually went to live with his wife's people, it was the policy of the chiefs to have their young men marry within the division, in order to keep up the strength of their own band. Furthermore, as under former conditions the various bands were usually widely separated during most of the year, it would have been extremely difficult to enforce an exogamic law. Their migration tradition points to an origin in a region in which, according to Swanton, the clan system probably never existed.¹

In the author's study of the circle organization of both Kiowa and Cheyenne he has adopted the rule of asking each informant, before proceeding to other matters, (1) his various names; (2) his age, as determined by the author's Kiowa calendar; (3) his father's band; (4) his mother's band; (5) the band of his first wife; (6) the position of his tipi in the circle; and (7) his war

¹ Having submitted the list of Cheyenne divisions to Mr Francis LaFlesche, recognized as one of our best authorities on the Siouan tribes, he writes, after examination: "There is not one that would, in the slightest degree, indicate a clan or gens system as found among the Osage, Omaha, and others of the Siouan tribes. Every name is such as would be applied to a band which acted in a peculiar manner to suggest the name. It would be a mistake to call them clan or gens names. You are perhaps right in calling them 'division names,' but even that term would imply an organization which the tribe seems not to have had in the strict sense of the word."

society. The results of such definite investigation of the family relationships of the older men of the Cheyenne tribe show conclusively that the marriage partnership was a matter of choice, husband and wife being frequently of the same band, the husband usually (but not always) going to live with his wife's people. Specific questions as to marriage laws brought out the same result. Most of these informants were already near middle age and married before 1864, the approximate date assigned by Grinnell for the breakdown of the Cheyenne clan system,¹ while their parents, of course, belonged to an earlier period.

Disregarding the minor band names as having no bearing on the circle scheme, we find that of the ten recognized camp circle divisions, one is an incorporated tribe, two are offshoots of the Māsī'kotā, and three have branched off from the Hévhaitā'neo, leaving only four which may be regarded as primary and original, viz: Hevīqs'nī'pahīs, Hévhaitā'neo, Māsī'kotā, and O'mī'sis, occupying the four segments of the circle, as separated by the intersecting lines of the cardinal points.

From this analysis of the camp circle, supplemented by study of the council arrangement, the war societies, and the heraldic symbolism of the tribe, we conclude that Cheyenne tribal life was organized, not on a clan system, but on a ceremonial geographic basis, as determined by the four cardinal points.

While the symbolism of the cardinal points, with the related sacred *four* and the cross, enter into the medical and religious ceremonial of probably every tribe in America, they are particularly prominent in Cheyenne pictography, the four cardinal points, definitely designated as *nīv-stānīwōⁱ* (*nīv*, four; *stānīwōⁱ*, the cardinal points), and represented as four equidistant triangles pointing inward around the circumference of a circle, being one of the most common symbols in shield decoration and in the corresponding face paint of the warrior. With the Kiowa, on

¹ "Marriage within the gens was not permitted, and it was not until about the year 1864 that people began to disregard this law concerning marriage and openly to violate it, and to marry their cousins." — Social Organization of the Cheyennes, *International Congress of Americanists*, New York meeting, 1902, 135, 1905.

the contrary, although the same symbolism exists, the pictograph does not once occur on more than a hundred shields studied by the author.

WARRIOR ORGANIZATION — OTHER SOCIETIES

Among the Plains tribes generally, the men and boys are organized into warrior societies, varying usually from six to twelve in number, each having its special equipment, dance, songs, and ceremonial function. The system is so closely identical in all the tribes as to render it probable that, as now existing, it has spread from a common starting point, probably on the upper Missouri and subsequent to the introduction of the horse, superseding in each tribe whatever equivalent organization may have existed previously. The Cheyenne have six such societies, known collectively as *nū'tqio* (singular, *nūtaq*), "warriors," viz :

1. *Hotāmitä'neo*, "dog men"; the celebrated "Dog Soldiers," the most important, distinct, and aggressive of all the warrior societies, deducing their name and ritual from the instruction given by a supernatural dog to their original founder. The meaning and reason of the name are beyond question, but the word is also susceptible of the rendering "behind, or backward, men," owing, as Petter explains, to the fact that the word for dog, *hotam*, is itself from a root conveying the idea of "following behind." They have practically absorbed the whole Mäsi'kotä division (q. v.), as already explained.

2. *Woksihütäneo*, "fox men" (specifically, the kit, or swift, fox); so called on account of a ceremonial club with pendant skin of the kit fox, carried by the leaders; also known as *Motsónitäneo*, "flint, i. e., arrowpoint, men."

3. *Hi'moiyóqts*, "those with headed lance," from *móóqts*, "lance," so called on account of a peculiar lance carried by the principal officer; also known as *Oómi-nū'tqio*, "coyote warriors," from their special reverence for the coyote and for a sacred coyote skin.

4. *Máho'h'vas*, "red shield owners," from a special red-painted shield with buffalo-tail pendant carried by the leaders;¹

¹ Not, as Dorsey has it, by all the members.

alias, *Hotóa-nū'tqio*, "buffalo-bull warriors." This society became extinct about 1896.

5. *Himátānóhís*, "those with the bowstring" (*matánow'*); so called from a peculiar lance, resembling a long bow with a lance-head at one end, carried by the leaders; sometimes called *Hó'nia-nū'tqio*, "wolf warriors," from the traditional instruction given to their founder by a supernatural wolf. Although this is an important society, it is of comparatively recent origin, having been instituted by *Mistai-maha*, "Big Owl," a noted medicine-man who died about forty-five years ago, leaving as his successor *Mehäts*, "Beard," who died in 1872. Although Big Owl claimed to have received the ritual from a supernatural wolf while still a young man and unmarried, it appears to be merely an adaptation from an older society among the Mandan and perhaps other northern tribes.

6. *Hotám-imäsáw'*, "foolish dogs," a common ceremonial designation for young, or apprentice, warriors. This society, which is not mentioned by Dorsey, is confined to the Northern Cheyenne, and is so similar in ritual to No. 5, among the Southern Cheyenne, that members of the two societies consider themselves ceremonially related, and take part in the same dances when visiting back and forth.

We thus find that the warrior societies, like the tribal divisions, resolve themselves into an original four, indicating a possible direct connection between the society and the division in earlier times.

As these warrior societies have been treated at length by Dorsey,¹ we need not go into details here. While some are

¹ The Cheyenne: Ceremonial Organization, *Field Columbian Museum Publication* 99, Chicago, March, 1905. He calls them, respectively, Dog Men, Hoof Rattle, Coyote, Red Shield, and Inverted or Bowstring warriors, omitting No. 6, the Foolish Dogs. Although he ascribes all five of those named to the traditional prophet or culture hero of the tribe, he says (p. 3): "All of the warriors' societies are original except the Bowstring society. This society was formed after the others." Clark (*Indian Sign Language*, 1885) has Dog, Fox, Medicine Lance, Bull, Bowstring, for the first five, respectively, and adds "Chief," the council of 44 chiefs, who, however do not constitute a society. For notes on the warrior organization in other tribes, see Maximilian, *Travels*, 1843 (Blackfoot, Crow, Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara); Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, article "Soldier" (general);

considered of higher dignity than others, each is distinct in itself, and there is no regular graduation from one to another. Any member so unfortunate as to kill one of the Cheyenne tribe, either deliberately or by accident, was at once cut off from the society and from all ceremonial functions, and no priest of the Sacred Arrow medicine would thereafter eat, drink, or smoke with him. In older times, but still within living memory, the outlawry was much more severe, and extended also to the nearest relatives of the offender, all of whom were obliged in consequence to camp apart from the main body, but probably only until propitiation had been made through the Sacred Arrows. In one notable instance, in 1837, the leader of the Dog Soldiers was thus degraded and outlawed for a murder committed in a drunken fight, although at that very time he was "carrying the pipe" to organize a great war party against the Kiowa. One man, of mild manner and much respected in the tribe for his former record, is thus cut off from society membership for an accidental killing as far back as 1873.

Of late years the native society organization of the Cheyenne, as well as of the other Plains tribes, has been greatly demoralized by the introduction of the Omaha Dance society, originating, as the name implies, among the Omaha, by whom it came first to the Sioux and then to other Plains tribes north and south, winning favor by reason of the spectacular features of the dance and the general freedom from burdensome tabus.

Besides these warrior societies, with their dances and tribal ceremonial duties, there are many smaller groupings partaking of the nature of guilds or close corporations for the purpose of guarding special secrets of healing, magic, etc., and hence commonly known as "medicine societies." Thus, there are several sets of "horse medicine" doctors, each set having its own special secret for the treatment of ailing horses, together with special tabus, and special costume, face paint, and songs for use during the treatment.

Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 1892 (Blackfoot); Mooney, *Ghost Dance Religion*, 1896 (Arapaho, etc.); Mooney, *Calendar History Kiowa Indians*, 1898 (Kiowa); Kroeber, *The Arapaho: Ceremonial Organization*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 1904.

Two of the most noted medicine societies were those of the Crazy Dance and the Fire Dance. The Crazy Dancers are said, on apparently reliable testimony, to have had knowledge of some secret plant, from chewing a portion of which at their public dances they became temporarily insane and possessed of superhuman strength, tossing heavy weights, jumping immense distances, throwing strong men about like children, and doing other things impossible and unthinkable in a normal condition. The Fire Dancers, comprising a membership of about a dozen persons, danced with naked feet through and over a large bed of burning coals until they had stamped it out into dead cinders. Some of them could also chew live coals and plunge their arms into boiling water without injury. The secret was held by the leader alone, who prepared each dancer by the application of an ointment, apparently of vegetable nature. According to the testimony of one who took part in this dance under the instruction of its most noted leader, Lamé Bull, the fire caused an unpleasant sensation of scorching which was more painful a day later, but no actual burning or blistering. Lamé Bull died in 1901, leaving no recognized successor, although one or two persons claim to hold the secret.¹

Several of the men's societies admit women to special parts, but the women have also their own societies, for dance, healing, and working purposes. Their separate dance societies are not numerous or of prominence in the tribal life, but the working societies, which are practically female trade unions, have, or did have until recently, absolute control of all the higher technology and decorative art of the tribe.

The members of these industrial guilds are distinguished as *Moni' nio* (singular, *Moni' ni'*), "women who have chosen," i. e., specialist women. There are distinct unions for the practice and teaching of tipi cutting and fitting; for each class of tipi decoration; for each class of robe and curtain making in porcupine quill and beaded designs; for parflèche decoration; and

¹ Riggs says the Hayoka dancers among the Sioux were able to plunge their arms into boiling water by previously "deadening" the skin with an application of sheep sorrel (*Gospel Among the Dakotas*, 96, 1869).

for the more specialized moccasin and dress patterns. Each gild has its leader with her assistants, all recognized as experts in the art, and admission to the society can be gained, as with the men's societies, only by costly feasting and presents. Besides receiving instruction in every detail of the art, the initiate is taught the technical terms, with all the hidden symbolism of design and nomenclature. Women ambitious to excel in the industries of their sex would seek admission to more than one working union, but as each one was distinct from the others, a similar heavy initiation fee must be paid in each case. The system still exists, though on the verge of extinction. The common household arts, as the preparation of food, dressing of skins, and making of everyday clothing, were learned at home. It may be added that every considerable piece of woman's work is begun with a short ceremonial prayer, and the overseer of the working party is supposed to be a woman of good disposition as well as a mistress of her art.

Among the younger men there is also a system of comradeship, known by a long term which may be freely translated as "taking a friend," by which two young men, usually of the same warrior society, practically adopt each as brothers and are so recognized thereafter both by their own parents and relatives and by the tribe at large. The term of address used by one to the other is *howi'*, "comrade," or *frater*. The parents and other relatives call the adopted one "son," "brother," etc., just as though actually born in the family. The two have their horses and other property in common, and one sometimes makes his home with the other, so that a stranger might think them actual brothers. The comradeship continues after marriage and throughout life. A similar custom exists among other Plains tribes, the bond being sometimes ratified by a preliminary public announcement, which does not seem to be the case with the Cheyenne. The stories of daring rescues of wounded comrades in the face of the enemy, so frequent in accounts of frontier fights, are usually explainable in this way.

HERALDIC SYSTEM — RELIGION — HOME LIFE

Every seasoned warrior was supposed to have a shield for defensive use in battle, and the system of tabu and other regulations, the rules for painting and decoration of the shield, the owner and his horse, with the accompanying war cries, songs, and other ceremonials, made up a shield heraldry akin to that found among the Plains tribes generally. As compared with the elaborate system found by the author among the Kiowa, the Cheyenne shield system is crude and undeveloped, being in most cases rather a matter of individual whim than of strict ceremonial definition, and would appear to be of much more recent origin than among the Kiowa, who have preceded the Cheyenne both in occupancy of the Plains region and in possession of the horse, without which the shield was of small importance. The tipi heraldry, as applied to tipi decorative designs and tabu regulations hereditary in certain families, exists also with the Cheyenne.

The whole religious life of the tribe centers in the great ceremonies of the Sun Dance and the Sacred Arrows. The Sun Dance is common in some form to nearly all the Plains tribes, and was given to the Cheyenne by the Sutaio after the first peace was made between the two tribes. The Dance tradition is a part of the sacred tradition of the Sutaio, which explains also the origin of the Buffalo Cap medicine from Domsī-vi'sts, "Erect Horns," the supernatural culture hero of the Sutaio. Both medicine and tradition still exist in keeping of the priest of the ritual.

The four Sacred Arrows, with the accompanying tradition and ritual, are the property of the Cheyenne proper, having been delivered to them at the beginning of their existence as a people by their own great culture hero, Motsiyóif, "Standing Medicine." While the annual Sun Dance overshadows all other tribal ceremonials in its spectacular character and social features, the feeling with regard to the Sacred Arrows is much more deep and reverent, few of the priests or older men ever daring to speak of them freely or even to mention them by name, the whole past and future of the tribe being regarded as identified with the

sacred bundle. On certain ceremonial occasions, notably to wipe the stain of blood from the people when a Cheyenne has been slain by a tribesman, the arrows are exposed to public veneration, no woman, however, being ever allowed to look upon or approach them closely under any circumstances. Like the Ark of the Covenant, the sacred bundle was formerly carried to war to insure victory, and in this way two of the four arrows were lost to the Pawnee some sixty years ago, and have been replaced in duplicate. The tradition keeper and the custodian with the sacred bundle now reside near Cantonment, Oklahoma, the headquarters of the most conservative element of the tribe.¹ The public Sacred Arrow ceremony was performed in 1904 and perhaps later, but, unlike the Sun Dance, is, so far as possible, guarded from the knowledge of the whites.

The Ghost Dance cult, which took hold upon the Cheyenne about nineteen years ago, was foreign to the tribe, and, having entirely died out, needs no further notice here. The Peyote rite, introduced from the neighboring Kiowa more recently, is finding many adherents among the younger men, attracted by the beauty of the songs and the pleasure of the waking visions induced by the drug itself.²

The home life, arts, games, dress, and social and war customs of the Cheyenne were such as were common to most of the Plains tribes which dwelt in skin tipis and hunted the buffalo. Their dead were usually laid away on scaffolds in the branches of trees, occasionally in boxes upon the surface of the ground, or, more seldom, in graves dug in the earth, but were never cremated. Physically they are usually of good build and stature, and in character rank rather above the average for courage and tenacity of purpose, but with correspondingly intractable disposition.

¹ For details in regard to the Sun Dance and the Sacred Arrows, see Dorsey's valuable papers on The Cheyenne, *Publications Field Columbian Museum*, Nos. 99 and 103, Chicago, March and May, 1905. The Buffalo Cap medicine is popularly called (*Hotóá*) *Nímhoyóó*, "Buffalo Bull Hanging," because hung from the end of a long tipi pole on ceremonial occasions.

² See the author's papers on the Ghost Dance and the Kiowa, already cited.

ALGONQUIAN AFFINITY — LINGUISTIC MATERIAL

The Algonquian affinity of the Cheyenne language is now clearly recognized. The trader Henry noted its connection with the Cree as early as 1806, but as his journal remained in manuscript the clew was not followed. In 1832-34 the German traveler, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, collected a vocabulary on the upper Missouri, which was published in the second volume of his Coblenz edition in 1841, and which would have been sufficient to prove the relationship had it been examined, but apparently the volume escaped the notice of Americanists outside of Germany. In 1846 Lieutenant Abert collected at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, a vocabulary and some grammatic notes, which were published as part of a congressional document in 1848. This appeared just in time for Gallatin to utilize in his introduction to Hale's *Indians of Northwest America* with the definite statement that careful comparison proved the language to be Algonquian. As he remarks that there was no other Cheyenne vocabulary extant, it is plain that he was unaware of Maximilian's work. The Hale-Gallatin paper was published in *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, II, 1848. In the meantime, however, Latham, in England, had obtained possession of an advance publication of the same Abert numerals, from a study of which he was convinced that the language was Algonquian, and so announced before a meeting of the British Association in June, 1847. Although the printed paper appeared in the same year with Gallatin's, 1848, the claim of priority thus rightfully rests with Latham.

The published Cheyenne linguistic material consists chiefly of (1) a vocabulary of about 250 words, by John S. Smith, an old-time trader, in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III, 1853; (2) a vocabulary and grammatic sketch, of 38 quarto pages, in Hayden, *Missouri River Tribes*, 1862; (3) a number of Ghost Dance songs, with glossary, by Mooney, in *Fourteenth Report Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1896; (4) a *Cheyenne Service Book*, of 20 pages, by the Reverend D. A. Sanford, Episcopal missionary, 1900; (5, 6, and 7) a *Cheyenne Reading Book*, 1895, the *Gospels of Luke and John*, 1902, and a translation of the

Pilgrim's Progress, 1904, all by the Reverend Rodolphe Petter, Mennonite missionary at Cantonment and the best living authority on the language. In manuscript we have (1) *Ethnography and Philology of the Cheyennes*, 468 pages, including an extended English-Cheyenne and Cheyenne-English dictionary, by Mr Ben Clark, post interpreter at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, date about 1885, the original in the possession of Dr G. B. Grinnell, of New York, and a copy with Wellesley College, Massachusetts; (2) a *Cheyenne Grammar, with Cheyenne-English and English-Cheyenne Dictionary*, of nearly 800 pages, besides a large body of myths and sermons in the language, by the Reverend Rodolphe Petter, at Cantonment. Of this dictionary there are four copies, laboriously made for the use of the mission workers. (3) A collection of some sixty sermons by Rev. G. A. Linscheid, of Bethany Mennonite mission, Busby, Montana.

INDIAN CULTURE NOT ANCIENT

The most salient fact brought out by a study of the Cheyenne is that of the newness of everything which they have, with the single exception of the Sacred Arrow cult. In the comparatively short space of two centuries, less than half the time since the discovery of America and entirely within the period of their acquaintance with the whites, they have shifted their habitat by nearly a thousand miles, from the sheltered timber country to the open plains, have so completely lost their old life, and have borrowed so much from the tribes of their new surrounding, that if it were not for their Algonquian speech and the known facts of history, we should fail to recognize in the roving buffalo hunters of the upper Arkansas the same people who once planted corn, fished in the lakes, and built their earth-covered lodges at the head of the Mississippi. Their great Sun Dance came from one tribe; their council system from another; the Omaha dance, Ghost dance, and Peyote rite from others; their warrior organization as they now have it, their shield system, their whole equestrian habit, their tipis and their tipi life, are all of recent adoption and development. Even their scalp cult is probably modern, as Friederici shows.¹ Their very

¹Friederici, *Skalpieren*, 1906.

blood has changed and become dilute from wholesale incorporation of captives and intermarriage with entirely alien elements — Sioux, Ute, Kiowa, and Pawnee. Their existing customs and ceremonials are under constant change, and are not now what they were even ten years ago. The same thing is proportionably true of the other tribes of the Plains, and to a less degree of the tribes of the woods and mesas, for there is nothing ancient or permanent in Indian life.

NAMES GIVEN TO OTHER TRIBES

In the old days when the Cheyenne had free range from the Saskatchewan to the Rio Grande, a distance of full 1,800 miles, they had a name for every tribe of importance in this immense region. Since the roving life has been brought to a close by reservation restrictions, however, some of these names have been forgotten, and others, although still remembered, have become difficult of identification. The various names applied to any one tribe by its neighbors had frequently the same meaning, being based on the gesture sign used to designate the tribe in the common sign language of the Plains Indians.

The following list, going from north to south, is probably as nearly complete as can now be made. Hayden's list of tribe and band names¹ is included, the guttural *q* of the standard alphabet being substituted for the dotted *h* of Hayden. In the Cheyenne forms the common tribal suffix is *hétán* (root, *tan* or *tän*), man or person, plural *hetáneo*. It is heard also as *hetän*, *hitän*, or sometimes *qitan*. In the same way there is a constant shifting by individuals from *a* to *ä*, *e* to *i*, *ö* to *u*. *d*, *v*, and *w* represent, not the ordinary English sounds, but approximates. ¹ is evanescent and almost silent.

CREE. — *Wōgō* (plural, *Wōgōhí*), 'Rabbits.'

ASSINIBOIN. — *Hó'hē* (*Hó'héco*). Adapted from the Sioux name, although some attempt to give it a Cheyenne meaning. *Ho-hé-i-o* — Hayden.

SARSI (?). — *Sasap* (*Sásāpán*). Adapted from some other tribe. Perhaps identical with the *Nótameo*, 'northern people'; indicated in the sign language by a sweeping rub of the thigh, the same sign

² *Missouri River Tribes*, 290.

used by the older Kiowa to designate both the Sarsi and the Brulé Sioux.

BLACKFOOT. — Old name, *Póomü'ts* (plural, *Póomäs*), 'gray, i. e. unpainted, robe, or blanket': *tši'poo*, 'it is gray'; *hóomä*, 'robe.' Modern name, *Moqtávhatätä'n* (*Moqtávhatätä'n-éo*), 'blackfooted men.' The name does not contain the word for *foot*, but it is understood from the construction. Cf. *Flathead*. *Pó-o-mas*, 'blankets whitened with earth' — Hayden.

A. PIEGAN BLACKFOOT. — *Pégû'n* (plural, same), regarded as a subtribe of the Blackfeet, but usually called by the divisional name.

ATSINA, or ARAPAHO GROSVENTRES. — *Histúitü'n* (*Histúitü'n-éo*), 'people who ask (beg) for meat,' from *nahíst'a't*, 'I ask for meat,' the equivalent of their Arapaho name, *Hítúněna*, 'Begging men.' *His-tu-i-ta-ni-o* alias *E-tá-ni-o*, 'people' — Hayden.

FLATHEAD. — *K'gôistsiätän* (*K'gôistsiätän-éo*), 'flattened-head people,' or, more strictly, 'people with heads compressed at the sides'; *ĕagû'n*, 'thin or compressed.' The name does not contain the word for *head*, which is understood from the construction. Cf. *Blackfoot*. *Ka-kó-is-tsi-a-tá-ni-o*, 'people who flatten their heads' — Hayden.

NEZ PERCÉ. — *Otä'is-hitä'n* (*Otä'is-hitä'n-éo*), 'pierced-nose men,' from *o*, root of 'hole'; *tä'is*, 'nose'; *hitä'n*, 'man.' When necessary to distinguish them from the Caddo, who are called by the same name, they prefix *notám*, 'north,' as *Notám-Otä'is-hitän-éo*. Cf. *Caddo*.

BANNOCK. — *Bä'näki* (plural, same). Adapted.

SHOSHONI. — *Sósoni* (*Sósoni-éo*). Adapted. *Só-so-ni* or *Só-so-i-há-ni* — Hayden.

A. — *Moiëomĩnĩ'tan* (*Moiëomĩnĩ'tan-éo*), 'grass-house people,' from *móĩ*, 'grass,' and *nĩmĩ*, possessive of *vĩ*, 'tipi.' A tribe apparently cognate with the Shoshoni, but farther northwest, beyond the mountains. The Kiowa sometimes call the Shoshoni 'Grass House People,' but Cheyenne authorities claim that the two tribes are distinct. Probably some of the so-called Snake bands of Idaho.

CROW. — Old name, *O'tä'n* (*O'tä'n-éo*), 'raven men,' or 'crow men,' from *ówüt*, the large mountain raven, or *ó'kóch*, crow. Modern name, *Oitän* (*Oitän-éo*), a corruption from the earlier form and incorrectly supposed to have reference to *óitü*, syphilis. *O-é-tun'-i-o* — Hayden. *Hóh-otann* — Maximilian.

MANDAN. — *Mévátän* (*Mévátän-éo*). Adapted from the Sioux

name *Mawatani*, although some Cheyenne try to interpret it from a Cheyenne word meaning 'eaters,' i. e., cannibals. A Cheyenne dance society, probably of Mandan origin, is called *Méwatanéo-sún. Wihwatann* [*W* probably misprint for *M*] — Maximilian.

HIDATSA or MINITARÍ. — *M'onón* (*M'onón-é*). Identified as speaking the same language as the Crows. The name seems to mean 'spreading tipis,' from a word in common use to denote a tipi disproportionately wide at the base. The tribal sign also indicates *spreading tipis*, although sometimes incorrectly made and interpreted *tipis abreast*, *row of lodges*, or *tipis on a bluff*. The name may have some connection with *Onǎn*, Arikara. Hayden incorrectly gives *Mo-nó-ni-o* as the Mandan. *Honúhn* — Maximilian.

ARIKARA, REE. — *Onǎn* (*Onǎn-eo*); seems to refer to *shelling corn* with the teeth; *na óinǎn*, 'I am shelling it'; *óineo*, 'a threshing machine.' The tribal sign indicates gnawing corn from the cob. *O-nó-ni-o* — Hayden. *Óhnunnu* — Maximilian.

SIoux. — *Hoóhomǎ'i* (*Hoóhomó-eo*); believed to be a Cheyenne word, but of doubtful etymology; *O-ó-ho-mo-i-o* — Hayden. *Ohohma* — Maximilian.

A. — Oglala Sioux, *Oganǎ'na*, adapted; *O-tǎ'q-sǎn*, 'little stars' — Hayden.

B. — Brulé Sioux, *Wúnhitǎ'na-ísts* (*Wú'nhitǎ'nah'is*; sometimes prefix *O*), 'burnt thigh,' from *hitón*, a particular muscle in the thigh; the word indicates that the whole surface is burnt. *Wo-ni-tǎ-na-his* — Hayden.

C. — Blackfoot Sioux (Sihasapa), *Mǎq-tá-wa-ta-tá-ni-o*, 'black-feet people' — Hayden.

D. — Sans-arcs Sioux, *Má-i-sin-as*, 'no bows' — Hayden.

E. — Two Kettle Sioux, *Niq'-a-o-c'iq'-a-is*, 'two kettles' — Hayden.

F. — Shunka-yuteshin Sioux, Band that eats no dogs, *Ho-tum'-mí-hu-is* — Hayden.

G. — Eastern Sioux, *Nǎ'towǎ'n* (*Nǎ'towǎ'na*), apparently a derivation from the old Algonquian term *Natowe*, applied to tribes of Siouan or of other alien stock. The Cheyenne also called by this name the Winnebago met by them at the Omaha Exposition in 1898. *Na-to-wo-na* — Hayden.

OMAHA. — *Omáha* (*Omáhas*); adapted. They are also sometimes included with the Ponca, q. v., under the name, *Oní'hǎ*, and this may have been the older designation.

PONCA. — *Onĩ'hã'* (*Onĩ'hã'*), said by some Cheyenne to refer to 'sitting down to beg,' from *na unĩ'hã'*, 'I sit down begging,' from the Ponca and Omaha custom of making begging dance excursions to other tribes, in which it is the rule for the visitors to sit down on the ground at a distance from the camp until invited to enter. Other Cheyenne consider it a foreign word of unknown meaning, possibly a corruption of *Omaha*, both tribes being frequently included under the same names. Hayden has Omahas, *O-ni'-ha-o*, 'the drum beaters.'

CHEYENNE. — *Dzĩtsĩstã's*; see synonyms, page 361.

ARAPAHO. — *Hitãniwó'* (*Hitãniwó'-eo*), 'sky or cloud people'; by some connected, but probably incorrectly, with *hidã'n*, 'teat,' to which the sign-language gesture for Northern Arapaho also refers. *I-tũn-i-wo*, 'skymen' — Hayden. Their Sioux name is *Maqpiato*, 'blue cloud.'

A. — Northern Arapaho, *Wanuĩ'tãn* (*Wanuĩ'tãn'-eo*), 'sage men,' from *wãneĩ*, 'wild sage.'

B. — Southern Arapaho, *Nomsĩn'na't* (*Nomsĩn'nẽo*), 'southerners,' from *nómhastũ*, 'south.'

UTE. — *Mogtãw'-haitã'n* (*Mogtãw'-haitãn'-eo*), 'black people,' from *mogtãw'*, 'black.' The name is sometimes used as generic to include other Shoshonean tribes, as Bannock, Paiute, etc. They are considered by the Plains Indians to be darker than themselves. *Mõg-tau-hai-ta-ni-o*, 'black men' — Hayden.

PAIUTE. — *Wõgoi-womã'i* or *Wõhiwomã'i* (*Wõgoi-womã'heo* or *Wõhiwomã'heo*), 'rabbit blanket people,' from *wõgó'* or *wõhĩ*, 'rabbit' (generic), and *womã'i*, referring to a dress or covering. Despite the distance, the Cheyenne have made frequent visits to the Paiute since the inauguration of the Ghost Dance by a prophet of the latter tribe about twenty years ago.

A. — *Nomãn[i]ómẽwũts* (*Noman[i]ómẽwas*), 'fish eaters,' a branch or subtribe of the Paiute, probably those of Pyramid Lake reservation, Nevada, as distinguished from those of Walker Lake reservation. Both bands call themselves *Agãf-tikãra*, 'fish eaters,' as distinguished from the *Kotsó-tikãra*, 'buffalo eaters,' the Bannock. The Cheyenne name is composed of *nõman*, 'fish,' and *ómẽwas*, an irregular derivative for *namĩ'si*, 'I eat.'

PAWNEE. — *Hõní-hĩtã'n* (*Hõní-hĩtã'n'-eo*), 'wolf people.' *Hõní-i-ta-ni-o*, 'little wolf people' — Hayden. *Hõkni-tãnn* — Maximilian. According to Petter, the old Cheyenne name for the Pawnee

was *Paoneneheo*, which might be interpreted 'people with projecting front teeth,' from *paonen*, 'projecting front teeth,' and *cheo*, the tribal suffix. It is probably, however, an inspiration from Panani, the Siouan name for the tribe.

OTO and MISSOURI. — *Masúhan* or *M'súhan* (*Masúhanán*). An adaptation of the name Missouri, applied by the Cheyenne to both confederated tribes. The Arapaho also call both tribes by a form of the same name, *Wasúhän*, *Wasúhänä*.

KAW, KANSA. — *Änäho* or *Änäho* (plural, same). An adaptation of an old name of unknown origin which appears as *Anahou* as far back as Joutel's narrative, 1687. The same name is used also by the Arapaho (*Ánahú*) and Kiowa (*Älähö*), but with constant confusion between Kansa and Quapaw, the two tribes being originally branches of the Osage, with the same language and hair-cut. With the Cheyenne it usually means the Kansa, with the Kiowa it more frequently means the Quapaw. See also *Osage*.

QUAPAW. — See *Kaw* and *Osage*.

OSAGE. — *Wasás* (*W'sásä'n*). Adapted. The Osage, Kaw, and Quapaw, speaking dialects of the same language and having their heads shaved and painted red, are also known indiscriminately as *Oóqt-qitā'n* (*O-óqt-qitā'n-eo*), 'shaved-head people', *Maóqt-qitā'n* (*Maóqt-qitā'n-eo*), 'red shaved people.' *Oóqt* may be rendered 'tonsure' and refers to hair cut in any special fashion, but does not contain the word for 'hair.' In this case, for the sake of euphony, *hitā'n* becomes *qitān*. The three tribes are hereditary enemies of the Cheyenne.

KIOWA. — *Wi'tāpātū'* (*Wi'tāpā'tu*). Adapted from the Sioux name, *Witapāhā'tu*. *Wi-tup-ā-tu* is incorrectly given by Hayden as meaning the Comanche.

COMANCHE. — *Shī'shīnóātsitān* (*Shī'shīnóātsitā'n-eo*), 'snake people,' from *shī'shinóat*, or *shīshīnoqts*, 'snake.' Hayden has *Shish-inú-wut-tsít-a-ni-o*, 'rattlesnake people,' incorrectly given as meaning the Kiowa.

KIOWA APACHE } See Apache proper.
LIPAN ? }

MESCALERO. — See *Apache*, or *Gohano*¹, under *Pueblo*.

JICARILLA. — *Notāmī-mótséheúnitān* (*Notāmī-mótséheúnitān-eo*), 'northern Apache,' from *notām* 'north.' See *Apache*.

NAVAHO. — *Nāwahó* (plural, same). Adapted.

PUEBLO. — *Hotamóehitā'n* (*Hotamóehitān-eo*), *Hotamóchihitān*

(*Hotamóchihitā'n-eo*), or *Hotamóihe*^h (*Hotamóihéhé*), 'bunched hair people'; the name does not contain the word 'hair,' but indicates the folded and tied roll of hair. Also *Pöowön* (*Pöowönan*), apparently adapted from *Pueblo*.

A. — *Ghā^h-hītān* (*Ghā^h-hītān-eo*) 'ermine people,' from *ghā^h*, 'ermine.' A Pueblo people southward from Taos; described by Cheyenne visitors who had met them at Taos. The women wore their hair in two bunches like the Jicarilla women. The men had adapted the ordinary Plains hairdress, but said they formerly cut the hair below the ears, with short side plaits. Their moccasins were pointed and turned up at the toes and they spoke Spanish while at Taos. They are not the Navaho, Ute, Jicarilla, or Taos, but from the scant data Hodge thinks they may possibly be the Picuris. Hayden has: "*ka-he-ta-mi-o*, 'people with white ermines,' some people who accompanied the Spaniards to trade with the Cheyennes, and tied their hair with strips of white ermine skin."

B. — *Góhanō^h* or *Wóhanō^h* (plural, same). Possibly adapted from a Comanche name. A tribe sometimes visiting the Comanche, probably a Pueblo people or else the Mescaleros.

APACHE. — *Mótséheúnitān* (*Mótséheúnitān-eo*), the name properly refers to 'people using the rasp fiddle' common among the South-western tribes, but has been incorrectly rendered 'breeders', or 'people who gather around a remnant carcass,' from *mótséhe*, 'a carcass stripped of most of its meat.' The term is also used generically for any people of Apache kinship, as Kiowa Apache, Mescaleros, etc., excepting the Navaho.

CADDO. — *Otāisitān* (*Otā'isī'tāneo*), 'pierced-nose people.' The same name is applied to the Nez Percés, q. v., the distinction being made, when necessary, by prefixing *north* or *south*.

WICHITA, etc. — *Hew'soitān* (*Hew'soitāneo*), 'tattooed people.'

TONKAWA. — *Miváfwi* (*Miváfwi'éo*), 'cannibals'; from *miv*, the root of another word signifying 'to eat,' the common word being *namī'si*, 'I eat.'

SAUK (immigrant). — *Sákots* (plural, same). Adapted.

KICKAPOO (immigrant). — *Chī'kápu'* (*Chikápu'n*). Adapted.

WINNEBAGO (immigrant). — See *Ná'towün*, under Sioux.

SHAWNEE (immigrant). — *Sáwănā*^h (*Sáwanéo*, *Sáwănā*). Adapted. The Delawares are perhaps included under the same name.

CHEROKEE (immigrant). — *Sā'nāki* (*Sā'nākiwo*) or *Sā'nāchi* (*Sānāchiwo*). Adapted.

CHOCTAW (immigrant). — *Sáqtaʰ* (plural, same). Adapted.

HISTÁ'SIWŪSTĀN (*Histásiwüstān-eo*). — 'Snow people,' from *hí'stās*, 'snow,' a collective term for the tribes of the far North.

SŪ'TAI (*Sūtai-o*). — An incorporated Algonquian tribe.

MŌs, MŌis (*Mó'seo, Mōiseo*). — A traditional friendly Algonquian tribe east of Missouri river: the Monsoni of Rainy lake and Moose river.

ÓWŪ'Q (*Ówū'qeo*). — A traditional tribe exterminated by the Cheyenne west of Missouri river: possibly the Amaqawi, an incorporated remnant tribe formerly living with the Hidatsa.

WHITE MAN, particularly American, *Vihōʰ* (*Vihōʰ*). A name of very doubtful etymology. The most common and plausible explanation derives it from a root meaning *sacked, covered, inclosed*, apparently referring to the dress of the white man as contrasted with the nakedness of the oldtime Indian; *vihoʰ*, inclosed in a sack; *vihosiyu*, a parflèche box or envelope; *vihoistūts*, a coffin. The same name, *vihoʰ*, is also given to certain species of spiders which line their dens with web and carry their young in a bag upon the back, hence it is sometimes carelessly said that the Cheyenne name for "white man" means "spider." In Arapaho also the same word is used for "white man" and "spider", but apparently from a root meaning 'skilful' or 'cunning.'

NEGRO. — *Moqtai-vihōʰ* (*Moqtai-vihōʰ*), 'black white-man.'

CHINAMAN. — *Hotamōtsinhōʰ* (*Hotamōtsinhōʰeo*), 'people with hair braided behind,' also sometimes *Nishihāninihi* (*Nishihānini'heo*), 'washers,' from *nān'shihānin*, 'I wash.'

MEXICAN, SPANIARD. — *Mi'shisi'-vihōʰ*, 'hairy nostril white man,' i. e., 'whiskered white man,' from *mī'shīs* 'whiskers,' also *Mish-gōini'hiōʰ*, conveying about the same meaning. As a personal name it becomes *Mishgōʰ*. *Mish-i-si-wi-o*, 'people with hairy noses' — Hayden. The sign is made by rubbing the lower part of the face several times to indicate the beard.

TEXAN. — *Dohānōʰ* (*Dohanōʰ*). Adapted from the Spanish *Tejano*. For historical reasons the southern tribes regard the Texans as distinct from the people of the United States, usually designating them by some corruption of *Tejano*.

FRENCHMAN. — *Papsihi-vihōʰ*. The last part is the ordinary word for 'white man'; the meaning of the first part is uncertain, but it is claimed by some to be a mockery of the rapid speech of the old French frontiersmen. The word is still used as a nickname by children at play.

OTHER FOREIGNERS. — *Má-i-vihó*^s (*Má-i-vihó*^s), 'red white-men'; used generally for Irish, Germans, and all other whites of peculiar speech not included under preceding classifications. Hayden has "*Ma-wi-o*, 'red bodied people,' Mormons."

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"With the assistance of Mr. Smith [John S. Smith, *q. v.*], who trades for the fort, and who speaks the Cheyenne [*sic*] language better, perhaps, than any other white man in the country, I made notes of everything that my red friends communicated. . . . From this day forth I spent several hours in the daily study of this language, and had succeeded in forming an elementary grammar; but on my winter journey back to St. Louis, in December and February, these papers were lost." It was from this vocabulary that Latham and Gallatin identified the language as Algonquian.
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A valuable series of papers of personal recollections treating the Chivington massacre, Platte Bridge, Powder river, and Hancock expeditions, Kidder massacre, Arickaree fork, Beaver creek, and the Washita, Carr's fight near Summit Springs, and the Custer massacre, from the Indian point of view. Both the articles and the magazine seem to come to an end with the number for March, 1906.

George Bent, the son of Col. William Bent by his Cheyenne wife, was born in Bent's Fort in 1842. In 1856 he was sent by his father to a private school in St. Louis, where he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he enlisted in the Confederate cavalry service, and was present at the battles of Wilson's Creek, Lexington, Pea Ridge, and Corinth. Being soon afterward captured while on a scouting expedition, he was released on parole through the effort of friends of his father. Returning to Colorado, he rejoined the Cheyenne and was present, on the Indian side, at the Chivington massacre, Platte Bridge fight, and other frontier engagements of that period. He afterward rendered important service in connection with the Medicine Lodge treaty and other Indian negotiations, and later acted for some years as Government agency interpreter at Darlington. His knowledge of Indian life is very intimate, and his personal acquaintance has included almost every prominent frontier officer and Indian leader of the last generation. He now resides on his ranch near Bridgeport, Okla.

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— See also SMET.

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Bibliog., 557), this work was prepared at the request of General Sheridan, who intended to have it published by the War Department. General Sheridan dying, this was not done, and the manuscript was finally acquired by Dr George Bird Grinnell of New York. According to Mr Clark, it is divided as follows: *Ethnography*, 44 pages; *Philology*, 9 pages; *Local Names*, 22 pages; *Grammar*, 28 pages; *English-Cheyenne dictionary*, 185 pages; *Cheyenne-English dictionary*, 180 pages. In the literary construction and arrangement the author had the assistance of an officer at Fort Reno, Okla.

A complete bound typewritten copy of this manuscript, made under the supervision of the late Prof. E. N. Horsford and by him presented to Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., is now in possession of that institution, being catalogued under the title of "Cheyenne History and Dictionary." The accompanying instructions to the printer by Clark bear date of March 1, 1887. A typewritten copy of the "Ethnography" and "Local Names," being pages 1-37 and 251-263 from the Wellesley manuscript, is now in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Benjamin Clark, government scout and interpreter, was born in St Louis, Mo., Feb. 2, 1841. When a mere boy, in the summer of 1857, he joined the noted expedition under command of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, which crossed the plains to Salt Lake City to impress upon the Mormons the authority of the U. S. Government. While passing near Ash Hollow, Nebr., on the North Platte, the Cheyenne attacked the wagon train of his division, killing three men, this being his first introduction to the Cheyenne tribe. On reaching Fort Bridger, Wyo., in November of that year, the freighting party of 400 men to which Clark was attached was regularly mustered in as a volunteer battalion, since which time he has been continuously on the army roll. He remained with the expedition in Utah until the spring of 1861, when he was assigned to scouting duty on the plains with the troops afterward making headquarters chiefly at Fort Dodge and Fort Supply. In 1868 he was in com-

mand of scouts at the battle of the Washita and was instrumental in saving the lives of a party of fugitive Cheyenne women, one of whom, a young girl, soon after became his wife. She died in 1875 and was buried at Fort Supply. Since about 1870 he has been official post interpreter for the Cheyenne, first at Fort Supply and since 1876 at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, where he still resides. In this capacity he has several times had official charge of Indian delegations to Washington or Chicago. In the summer of 1878, under detail from the War Department, he escorted a delegation of friendly Nez Percés from Fort Leavenworth to Sitting Bull's camp of hostiles on the South Saskatchewan in British America for the purpose of arranging terms of surrender with the refugee Nez Percés, who had crossed the border. Later in the same year, under orders from General Sheridan, he conducted a party of nearly 200 surrendered Northern Cheyenne from Fort Keogh, Montana, via Bismarck and Sidney, to Fort Reno, Oklahoma, where the greater portion of the tribe was then quartered; while this move was in progress some 335 of the late hostile Cheyenne under Dull Knife broke away from the southern element in a desperate effort to escape to the north, killing more than forty white settlers as they crossed Kansas directly in the line of Clark's party and pursued by several regiments of Government troops; but he was able to halt and hold his own prisoners in a secure position, keeping them in ignorance of what was transpiring until they were finally landed safely at Fort Reno.

In 1879 he married his present Cheyenne wife. In 1883-85, on request of General Sheridan, who was deeply interested in the Indians and had a high regard for Mr Clark, he prepared his "Ethnography and Philology of the Cheyenne," for publication under the auspices of the War Department. Owing to the untimely death of Sheridan in 1888, it still remains in manuscript. His latest exploit was performed in the fall of 1905 as guide to a detachment of U. S. troops on a fatiguing practice march across country by way of the old trails, from Fort Riley, Kans., to Fort Sam Houston,

Tex., a distance of about 800 miles, during which period, in spite of his sixty-five years, he spent each day in the saddle, cooking his own meals, fording every river on horseback, and sleeping in the open air at night. In manner and appearance Mr Clark is a typical frontier scout of the olden type, erect and soldierly in bearing, modest, direct, and courteous in expression, and with a knowledge of Cheyenne things possessed by no other white man.

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— Words, Phrases, and Sentences in the Language of the Cheyenne of Pine Ridge Agency, S. D. Recorded February, 1891. MS. in collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

In a copy of Powell's *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*, 2d ed., 4°, of which it occupies pages 77-228 and 9 unnumbered leaves. Besides the regular schedules it contains conjugations, tribal names, several songs, and valuable notes on medicine practices. In his note upon this, Pilling, *Algonq. Bibliog.*, p. 563, has: "In two smaller blank-books, respectively 34 and 60 pages, small 4°, Mr Gatschet has recorded from the same source much linguistic information not called for in the Introduction." The smaller one of these is taken up chiefly with an explanation of the larger pictures noted below. The other seems to have disappeared.

— Crayon Pictures of Cheyenne Ceremonial Customs and Implements. Drawn by Wuppais, or Daniel Littlechief, son of the present headchief of the Cheyenne Indians of South Dakota. at Pine Ridge Agency. Explained by notes obtained from the same Indian, Washington, February, 1891. MS. in collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

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Indian Affairs. Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905. Indian Affairs, Part I, Report of the Commissioner, and Appendixes. Washington, 1906.

The Office of Indian Affairs was regularly organized in 1834, the earlier reports on Indian affairs, beginning in 1821, having constituted only a few pages each of the War Department reports. The first incidental notice of the Cheyenne occurs in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1835.

Indian Miscellany. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Indian Miscellany. Quarto series. Washington. Library of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

A collection of newspaper clippings, etc., relating to the Indians, covering dates from 1726 to 1868, and mounted in chronologic order in 10 quarto scrapbooks. The later volumes contain contemporary notices of border campaigns, treaties, etc., in which the Cheyenne were concerned.

Irving, John T., Jr. Indian Sketches, taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes. 2 volumes. Philadelphia, 1835.

"The juvenile excursion of a minor" (1833). Vol. II, chapter "The Shian Captive," contains an account of the killing of a Cheyenne girl destined for a Pawnee sacrifice.

Irving, Washington. Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains. Tacoma edition, 2 volumes. New York and London, 1897.

Originally published in 1836. Contains notes of the sojourn of Hunt's overland Astoria expedition of 1811 with the Cheyenne in the Black-hills country. See also *Bradbury*.

Jackson, Helen Hunt ("H. H."). *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the U. S. Government's Dealings with some of the Indian Tribes.* New York [1881].

Contains a chapter on the Cheyenne, including notice of the Chivington massacre, etc., with statistics of condition in 1880.

Jackson, W. H. *Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians*, by W. H. Jackson, Photographer of the Survey. U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 9*, Washington, 1877.

Contains 1-page tribal sketch accompanying list of 22 portraits of Southern Cheyenne, of which negatives are now in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

James, Edwin. Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819 and 1820 . . . under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. ("Long's Expedition.") Two volumes, Philadelphia, 1823.

Brief references in vol. II. to "Shiennes" met on Arkansas river.

Jenness, George B. The Battle on Beaver Creek. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1905-06, IX, 443-52, Topeka, 1906.

Major G. A. Armes against the Cheyenne and Arapaho, August, 1867.

Jomard, Edme F. Langue des Indiens Cheyennes. In *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 3d ser., VI, Paris, 1846.

Two pages (384-86) of comment on vocabulary given by Abert (*q. v.*), with 23 of his numerals. According to Pilling (*Algonq. Bibliog.*, p. 264), the same comment was reprinted by Jomard in his "Note sur les Botecudos," reprinted from the same journal for the same year.

Kansas State Historical Society. See BEECHER INDIAN MONUMENT; BERNARD, W. R.; FAIRFIELD, S. H.; FREEMAN, W.; JENNESS, G. B.; LOWE, P. G.; MCNEAL, J. W.; MEAD, J. R.; MOORE, H. L.; MOREHOUSE, G. P.; PECK, R. M.; PHILLIPS, W. A.; REES, D. S.; ROENIGK, A.; SMITH, P. F.; SUMNER, E. V.; WILSON, H. P.; WRIGHT, R. M.

Kappler, Charles J. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, clerk to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Vol. I, Laws. Vol. II, Treaties. Washington, 1904.

ten Kate, Dr H. C. F., jr. *Sur la Synonymie Ethnique et la Toponymie chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord.* Separate, pp. 353-363, from *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 1884.

Cheyenne synonyms for neighboring tribes and *vice versa*.

— Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noord-Amerika. Leiden, 1885.

Contains an interesting account of the condition of the (Southern) Cheyenne in 1881-82, with notes on their history from the time of the Chivington massacre.

Keim, DeB. R. *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders: A Winter Campaign on the Plains.* Philadelphia, 1885.

Interesting sketches, somewhat exaggerated, of the border campaigns of 1868, including Arickaree fork and the Washita. The author accompanied the latter expedition. The book was written in 1870.

Kroeber, A. L. Cheyenne Tales. In *Journal of American Folk-lore*, XIII, 30 pp., Boston, 1900.

La Salle, Cavalier de. [Letter of 1680 — beginning and date missing — evidently written as a report to date on his return to Canada from the Illinois country. Contains first historic notice of the Cheyenne.] In Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, etc., II, Paris, 1877.

Latham, Robert G. On the Shyenne Numerals. (Abstract.) In *Report of the Seventeenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Oxford in June, 1847*, Transactions of the Sections, p. 123, London, 1848.

"In Gallatin's Synopsis doubts are expressed as to the proper place of the Shyenne language. Lieutenant Abert, of the Santa Fé Expedition, as stated in the 'Bulletin de la Société de Géographie,' has published a grammar and vocabulary of this language. The numerals alone have been seen by the

writer of this note. They refer the language to the Algonquin group of tongues."

This seems to be the first public announcement of the Algonquian affinity of the Cheyenne language, preceding the more detailed statement of Gallatin by several months, although both statements first appeared in print in the same year, 1848, within a year of Abert's return from the field. In his *Varieties of Man* (1850) and *Opuscula* (1860) Latham also refers to his Oxford paper. In *Opuscula* (p. 330) he says: "A vocabulary of Lieut. Abert's settled this. The numerals of this were published earlier than the other words, and on these the present writer remarked that they were Algonkin (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1847—Transactions of the Sections, p. 123). Meanwhile the full vocabulary, which was in the hands of Gallatin and collated by him, gave the contemplated result."

— The Natural History of the Varieties of Man. London, 1850.

Discussion of Cheyenne migrations and affinities, pp. 329-32.

— On the Languages of Northern, Western, and Central America. In *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1857, pp. 57-115, London, 1857 [?].

This is the same paper which appears later in his *Opuscula*, and contains 3 pp. (61-63) of Cheyenne notice, with vocabulary of 23 words compared with Arapaho.

— *Opuscula*: Essays chiefly Philological and Ethnographical. London, 1860.

A collection of previous separate papers. Pp. 326-77 contain the same paper noted under "On the Languages," above, the Cheyenne portion occupying pp. 329-31.

— Elements of Comparative Philology. London, 1862.

On pp. 455-58 is a repetition, with a few verbal changes, of the Cheyenne notes and vocabulary in the third and fourth titles above.

Lewis and Clark. [This classic of the West has passed through nearly forty editions, either in whole or in part, of which the most important are the first and last, as noted below:]

Message from the President of United States communicating Discov-

eries made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley and Mr. Dunbar; with a statistical account of the Countries adjacent. February 19, 1806. Read, and ordered to lie on the table. City of Washington: A. and G. Way, printers, 1806 (pp. 167+7).

— Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806. Printed from the original manuscripts . . . together with Manuscript Material of Lewis and Clark from other sources . . . now for the first time published in full and exactly as written. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D. 8 volumes. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1904-05.

This last is a magnificent series, worthy of the editor's previous work, the *Jesuit Relations*. Volume 8 is made up of the original maps of the route. The narrative contains the account of the first contact of the Cheyenne with U. S. officers in 1804 and 1806, with statistics of the population and condition of the Cheyenne, Staetan (Sutaio?), and Canenavich (Arapaho).

Linscheid, Rev. G. A. Cheyenne Sermons. MSS., 1906.

A series of manuscript sermons in the Cheyenne language, eighty in number to date, February 4, 1907. List of titles furnished by the author, Mennonite missionary to the Northern Cheyenne, Bethany mission, Busby, Montana.

Gustav A. Linscheid was born in Galicia, Austria, Nov. 4, 1875, and came to the United States in the spring of 1883. After some years' attendance at Bethel College, Newton, Kan., he entered the Mennonite mission service in 1895 as principal teacher in the Southern Cheyenne mission school at Cantonment, Okla. Three years later he re-entered Bethel to complete his studies, and, after graduating from the academic course in 1900, resumed work as regular missionary in the tribe, being ordained to the ministry in the same year. In September, 1903, he was united in marriage to Miss Anna Hirschler, who has been his devoted collaborator in all his later work. In 1904, being assigned to labor among the Northern Cheyenne, he established

- near Busby, Mont., the Bethany mission, of which he is now in charge.
- Long, Stephen H.** See JAMES, EDWIN.
- Lowe, Percival G.** Kansas, as seen in the Indian Territory. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IV, p. 6, Topeka, 1890.
Notices of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Pawnee, etc., Fitzpatrick, and others, about 1850.
- Mallery, Col. Garrick.** Pictographs of the North American Indians. In *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (for 1882-83), pp. 3-256, Washington, 1886.
Numerous references to wars of the Sioux against Cheyenne and Arapaho up to the peace of 1840-41.
- Margry, Pierre.** Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754). Mémoires et Documents Originaux recueillis et publiés par Pierre Margry. (6 volumes, 1875-1886.) Deuxième Partie. Lettres de Cavalier de la Salle, 1678-1685. Paris, 1877.
Contains what seems to be the first historic notice of the Cheyenne, 1680 (La Salle, vol. II); notices of the Monsoni, or Moiseo, and of the Verendrye expedition (vol. VI).
- Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied.** Reise in das Innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834 von Maximilian Prinz zu Wied. Two volumes. Coblenz, 1839-1841.
One of the earliest and most valuable works dealing with the tribes and languages of the Missouri river and northern plains. It contains incidental references to the migrations and wars of the Cheyenne, living then on upper Cheyenne river, S. Dak., but not met; several synonyms, and a vocabulary of 67 Cheyenne words (II, 487-89), including several tribal names, the earliest vocabulary of the language published. A 3-volume Paris edition, 1840-43, contains abridgments from the various vocabularies of the Coblenz edition. A London edition, 1843, omits the linguistics.
- McNeal, J. W.** Letter on Sand Creek, Kansas, Fight in Dull Knife Raid, 1878. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1905-06, IX, pp. 388-89, Topeka, 1906.
- Mead, James R.** The Saline River Country in 1859. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1905-06, IX, pp. 8-19, Topeka, 1906.
Notes on Cheyenne encounters, and Cheyenne-Oto fight, 1861.
- Miles, Gen. Nelson A.** Personal Recollections and Observations . . . Embracing a Brief View of the Civil War . . . and the Story of his Indian Campaigns, etc. Chicago and New York, 1896.
- Mooney, James.** Cheyenne Notes. MS. in the collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1891-1906.
Notes on organization, ceremonial, heraldry, history, technology, games, botany, geography, etc., covering a range of fifteen years of field investigation, but chiefly collected in 1902-06.
— The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak in 1890. Forms Pt. II of *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896.
Special chapter on the Cheyenne, with synonymy, divisions, camp-circle diagram, nineteen Ghost Dance songs and translations, and song glossary. Material collected in 1891.
— Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians. Forms pages 131-468 of Pt. II of *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1898.
Much information concerning relations of Cheyenne with Kiowa and other Plains tribes, border wars, treaties, epidemics, etc.
- Moore, Horace L.** The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VI, 17 pp., Topeka, 1900.
Operations against Cheyenne, etc., in winter of 1868-69, including Battle of Washita and seizure of Cheyenne chiefs by Custer. The writer was colonel of the Kansas regiment.
- Morehouse, George P.** Along the Kaw Trail. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1903-04, VIII, pp. 206-12, Topeka, 1904.
Indian trails in Kansas, and notes on Little Robe's raid on the Kaws in 1868.
- Morgan, Lewis H.** Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, XVII, Washington, 1871.

Remarks on the Cheyenne tribe, with comparison of 16 words of Smith's vocabulary, pp. 213-215; system and terms of kinship, obtained in 1860 from Joseph Tesson, a mixed-blood French trader among the Cheyenne, pp. 291-382.

Morse, Rev. Jedidiah. A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs, comprising a narrative of a Tour performed in the summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, etc. New Haven, 1822.

Cheyenne statistics, app., 251, 254, 366.

Murray, Charles A. Travels in North America during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836. In 2 volumes. London, 1839.

Volume I has incidental references to the Cheyenne in 1834.

Palmer, Capt. H. E. History of the Powder River Expedition of 1865. In *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, II, pp. 197-229, Lincoln, 1887.

Notes of Little Blue raid, Chivington massacre, Julesburg fight, and Powder River campaign.

Peace Commission. Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, January 7, 1868. In *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, pp. 26-50, Washington, 1868.

A review of the work of the Commission appointed to negotiate treaties with the Plains tribes in 1867-68, with "the story of the Cheyennes" in their relations with the whites from 1851 to date, making a strong presentation for the Indians. The report is signed by Indian Commissioner Taylor as president, (Senator) J. B. Henderson, S. F. Tappan, and Generals Sherman, Harney, Sanborn, Terry, and Augur.

Peck, Robert M. Recollections of Early Times in Kansas Territory. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1903-04, VIII, pp. 484-507, Topeka, 1904.

Notes on Bent's Fort, and Sumner's fight with the Cheyenne in 1857.

Perrin du Lac, F. M. Voyage dans les deux Louisianes, et chez les Nations Sauvages du Missouri . . . en 1801, 1802, and 1803. Paris, 1805.

Interesting notes on the Cheyenne as met in 1802, two years before encoun-

tered by Lewis and Clark, together with a considerable myth.

Petter, Rev. Rodolphe. Zistxuisto: or Cheyenne Reading Book. Quakertown, Pa.; U. S. Stauffer, printer, 1895. Paper, 36 pp.

The first book printed in the Cheyenne language. It contains an introduction, the alphabet, with explanation of sounds, several pages of vocabulary, and a number of sentences and Bible translations.

— Pavosto Zeoxchesenitotahoez Luke na John [etc.]. The Gospels of Luke and John. Printed for the interest of the Mennonite Mission among the Cheyenne Indians. Berne, Ind.: Witness print, F. Rohrer, 1902. Cloth, pp. 240.

— Assetosemeheo Heoxovistavatoz [etc.]. The Pilgrim's Progress, and some Bible Portions. Printed for the interest of the Mennonite Mission among the Cheyenne Indians. N. p., n. d., 264 pp. [Berne, Ind.: F. Rohrer, 1904.]

Pilgrim's Progress, Bible translations, and eight hymns.

— Three Cheyenne Tales. Cheyenne and English interlinear translation. MS., 14 pp.

— Cheyenne Sermons and Bible Translations. Disconnected MSS., aggregating about 400 pages.

— Cheyenne Grammar. MS., 100 pp.

— Cheyenne-English Dictionary. MS. In 2 parts: Cheyenne-English, 393 pp.; English-Cheyenne, 285 pp.

"Both dictionaries are now under revision and will be materially increased." — Letter of author, July, 1906. Three additional MS. copies of this dictionary have been made for their own use by other Mennonite missionaries now working among the Cheyenne, viz, Rev. J. H. Kliever, Rev. G. A. Linscheid and Miss Agnes Williams, and Miss Bertha Kinsinger.

— Zesse-nemeoxtoz (Cheyenne Songs). Printed in the interest of the Mennonite Mission. Berne, Ind., 1907.

A pamphlet of 30 pages containing 31 hymns, entirely in the Cheyenne language.

— Sketch of the Cheyenne Grammar. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, vol. I, no. 6. Lancaster, Pa., 1907. [Accompanying paper.]

The Reverend Rodolphe Petter, our best authority on the Cheyenne language, is a native of the same country which gave Gallatin and Gatschet to American philology, having been born in Vevey, Canton Vaud, Switzerland, Feb. 19, 1865. In 1883 he entered the Evangelical Mission House at Basel to study theology and prepare for the duties of a missionary. Having completed the course, including languages and medicine, he was ordained in 1890, and in the summer of the same year embarked for America with his young wife to engage in Indian mission work under the auspices of the Mennonite Church. After six months together at Oberlin College, Ohio, for the purpose of learning English, Mr and Mrs Petter, in August, 1891, proceeded to Cantonment, Okla., the subagency headquarters of the most conservative element of the Cheyenne tribe, with whom they have ever since resided. By diligent application to the study of the Cheyenne language Mr Petter has so mastered it that for years he has used it exclusively in his daily work and contact with the Indians, as do also his wife and children. In addition to the scholarly training by which he is able to write, converse, and preach with almost equal fluency in French, German, English, and Cheyenne, it may be safely asserted that no other white man who has ever come to the Cheyenne has commanded more of their respect and affection. His principal assistant in the study of the language and the preparation of the translations has been Mr Harvey Whiteshield, an educated full-blood of the tribe.

Phillips, Col. W. A. Kansas History. Presidential Address, 1890. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IV, 8 pp., Topeka, 1890.

Contains a picturesque description of a great Cheyenne camp on Saline river in 1859.

Pilling, James C. Bibliography of the Algonquian languages. *Bulletin* [13] of the Bureau of Ethnology. Washington, 1891.

Contains an exhaustive listing of all Cheyenne linguistic material — original publication, reprint, and manuscript — of which the author could obtain information up to June 1, 1891.

Pott, Friedrich August. Die Sprachverschiedenheit in Europa an den Zahlwörtern nachgewiesen [etc.]. Halle, 1868, 109 pp.

Notes on Cheyenne numerals, based on Gallatin's Abert vocabulary in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, II, 1848.

— Die Personennamen, insbesondere die Familiennamen und ihre Entstehungsarten: auch unter Berücksichtigung der Ortsnamen. Leipzig, 1853.

Incidental notice of two Cheyenne words, p. 681. The title-page has August Friedrich, instead of *vice versa*.

— Doppelung (Reduplikation, Gemination) als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprache, beleuchtet aus Sprachen aller Welttheile. Lemgo and Detmold, 1862.

Cheyenne word examples, pp. 37 and 54. Title from Pilling.

Rees, D. S. An Indian Fight on the Solomon. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VII, 2 pp., Topeka, 1902.

Fight between Delawares and Cheyenne in 1863.

Robinson, DeL. W. Cheyenne Indians. In *South Dakota Historical Collections*, I, pp. 146–47, Aberdeen, S. Dak., 1902.

A valuable 2-page note summary of their migrations and later history.

Robinson, Doane. A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians. In *South Dakota Historical Collections*, II, Aberdeen, S. Dak., 1904.

Constitutes 523 pp. of the volume, special pagination. The chapters on the Custer war of 1876 and succeeding treaty, and the outbreak of 1890–91, contain Cheyenne references.

Roenigk, A. Railroad Grading among Indians. In *Trans. Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, 1903–04, VIII, pp. 384–89, Topeka, 1904.

Railroad building under difficulties in Kansas in 1868, by one of the workers.

Royce, Charles C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States, with an Introduction by Cyrus Thomas. Forms Part II of *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1899.

Summaries of all treaty land provisions and cessions, with explanations and maps.

[Sage, R. B.] Scenes in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies [etc.]. By a New Englander. Philadelphia, 1846.

Numerous notices of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and other tribes as met in 1841-43.

Sanford, Rev. D. A. Cheyenne Service Book. 20 pp. Shawnee, Oklahoma: Churchman Press, 1900.

The Creed, Lord's Prayer, Commandments, etc., 9 hymns, and 3 pp. of vocabulary (besides an additional hymn pasted inside back cover). The author was for some time Episcopal missionary among the Cheyenne, at Bridgeport, Okla.

Schoolcraft, Henry R. Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States [etc.]. Published by authority of Congress. 6 volumes. Philadelphia, 1851-56.

Scattered through the six great volumes of this work are a number of things relating to the Cheyenne, the most important being probably the vocabulary by John S. Smith (*q. v.*).

Secretary of War. Expedition up the Missouri: Letter from the Secretary of War . . . respecting the Movements of the Expedition which lately ascended the Missouri River [etc.]. H. R. Doc. 117 (War Department), 19th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington, 1826.

Account, with statistics, of expedition to upper Missouri, May-Oct., 1825, under General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, who negotiated the first treaties with the Cheyenne and other tribes of that region.

de Smet, Rev. Peter J. Letters and Sketches, with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains. Philadelphia, 1843.

Notes of friendly meetings with Cheyenne on the upper Platte in 1840. Pp. 32-3, 128-9, 134.

— Cinquante Nouvelles Lettres du R. P. de Smet, de la Compagnie de Jésus [etc.], publiées par Ed. Terwecosen, de la même Compagnie. Paris, 1858.

Title from Pilling. Contains "names of Shyenne delegates with English synonyms."

— Voyage au grand-désert en 1851 [etc.]. Bruxelles, 1853.

Title from Pilling. Contains "names of Sheyenne and Rapaho delegates, with French definitions, p. 60."

— Western Missions and Missionaries: a series of letters. New York, 1863. Also later editions.

Titles from Pilling. Contains "names of Sheyenne and Rapaho delegates, with English definitions," p. 116.

— Lettres choisies du révérend père Pierre-Jean de Smet [etc.]. Bruxelles and Paris, 1875.

Title from Pilling. Same names as noted in the third and fourth titles above.

— See also CHITTENDEN and RICHARDSON.

Rev. Peter John de Smet, the noted Jesuit missionary to the tribes of the northern plains and Rocky mountains, was born in Termonde, Belgium, December 31, 1801. He came to America as a volunteer missionary in 1821, and after finishing his novitiate and assisting in the establishment of the University of St Louis, in which he was for a time a professor, he began his first mission among the Potawatomi in 1838. In consequence of his notable success in this work, he received permission from his superior to extend his efforts to the more remote tribes of the mountains. In 1840 he set out from St Louis for the Flatheads in western Montana, where he soon afterward established the mission which has resulted in the evangelization of the whole tribe. He then sailed for Europe for reinforcements, returning with a number of Jesuits and sisters by whose aid he inaugurated a series of missions among the tribes of the upper Columbia region, even to the North Saskatchewan. His missionary labor, covering thousands of miles of territory occupied by the wildest tribes, extended over a period of more than thirty years. On account of their influence with the Indians both he and the Episcopalian missionary, Rev. S. D. Hinman, were called to assist the Peace Commission in negotiating the great treaty with the late hostile Sioux in 1868, and their names are appended to the document. He died at St Louis in May, 1872, as the result of an accident while in Europe.

Smith, John S. Cheyenne Vocabulary. Manuscript vocabulary of 323 words, recorded on one of the Schoolcraft blank schedules (signed at end, "Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington—H. R. S."), and intended for incorporation in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*. Original MS., of date 1852 or earlier, in the collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The same vocabulary, with a corresponding Arapaho vocabulary by the same author, appears in Schoolcraft, III, 446-459, 1853. Domenech (*q. v.*) and Haines (*q. v.*) also copy portions without credit.

John S. Smith, known to the Cheyenne as *Póomúts*, 'Gray Blanket' *i. e.*, 'Blackfoot Indian,' corrupted by the Kiowa to *Pohómé*, was born in December, 1810, in one of the eastern states, and went to Colorado in 1830, from which time until his death he was in intimate association with the Cheyenne and other tribes of the upper Arkansas. While serving in the employ of the trading firm of Bent & St Vrain, he acquired a fluent command of the Cheyenne language, which led to his employment as official United States interpreter for that tribe, in which connection his name appears affixed to the treaties of Fort Laramie, 1851; Fort Wise, 1861; Little Arkansas, 1865; and Medicine Lodge, 1867. His first wife was a Blackfoot woman, whence his Indian name. Having afterward married a Cheyenne wife, by whom he had children, he was recognized by the Indians as belonging to the latter tribe. In 1865 he gave testimony in Washington concerning the Chivington massacre, having been present in the Indian camp when the attack was made. His young half-breed son, who was also present, was shot by the militia after having surrendered. In 1868, according to Keim, he selected the site for Fort Supply. In 1870 Smith accompanied a Cheyenne and Arapaho delegation to Washington, and died a few days after his return, at the agency at Darlington, Okla. He is buried in the sand hills on the north bank of the Canadian, about two miles above the agency. A half-breed daughter still lives in the tribe.

Lieutenant Abert (*q. v.*), who em-

ployed Smith as an interpreter while stopping at Bent's Fort in 1846, says: "With the assistance of Mr. Smith, who trades for the fort, and who speaks the Cheyenne [*sic*] language, better, perhaps, than any other white person in the country, I made notes of everything that my red friends communicated."

Smith, Gen. Persifer F., et al. Reports on Cheyenne hostilities in 1856. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IV, Topeka, 1890.

Reports from General Smith, department commander, Captain Stewart, and Captain Wharton.

Sumner, Col. E. V., et al. Report of engagement with Cheyennes on Solomon fork, Kans., July 29, 1857, and destruction of the camp. In *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, V, pp. 299-301 (with supplementary notices by Gov. Walker, Major Armistead, and Lieutenant Merrill, pp. 370-373), Topeka, 1896.

Treaties. Indian Treaties, and Laws and Regulations relating to Indian Affairs [etc.]. Washington, 1826.

Contains first treaty with "Chayennes," 1825, with 13 Indian signatures, in Sioux language.

— Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837 [etc.]. Washington, 1837.

Contains same treaty and signatures.

— A Compilation of all the Treaties between the United States and the Indian tribes, now in force as Laws. Washington, 1873.

Contains treaties of Little Arkansas, 1865; Medicine Lodge, 1867; Fort Laramie, 1868 (Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho)—all concerning the Cheyenne, but without signatures.

— Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, LL.M., clerk to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. 2 volumes. Volume I, Laws; Volume II, Treaties. Washington, 1904.

Volume I contains Allotment Agreement of 1890, with other Cheyenne legislation and statistics. Volume II contains Cheyenne, etc., treaties of 1825, 1851 (Fort Laramie), 1861 (Fort Wise), 1865, 1867, 1868.

Van der Velden, Rev. Aloysius. Jesuit priest of St Labre's mission, Northern Cheyenne, Ashland, Montana, 1885-97. In December, 1906, stationed at St Francis Regis mission, Ward, Washington.

"The only one who ever compiled anything in the Cheyenne language at this mission was the Rev. Father Van der Velden, who lived here from 1885 to 1897. None of his writings have ever been printed, so far as I know, and I have reason to believe they have become scattered or destroyed. I think most of his writings were confined to the translation of the Old and New Testaments, also the History of the Bible." — Letter of Rev. P. M. Gallagher, rector of the mission, Dec. 6, 1906. Concerning Father Van der Velden's work, Rev. C. A. Linscheid, Mennonite missionary to the Northern Cheyenne, writes, Sept. 10, 1906: "I learn from the Indians that he spoke Cheyenne; to what extent of course I cannot tell. They also tell me that he had written prayers, which he read to them."

Verendrye, Varennes de la, et al. Documents relating to explorations and Indian negotiations by the Verendryes, circa 1735-50, particularly the expedition of 1742-43, from Winnipeg and the Mandan southwest to the Rocky mountains. In Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 598-611, passim, 1886.

Three Verendrye manuscripts are listed in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1903, Ottawa, 1904; and the "Journal of Laverendrye" on his expedition to the Mandan and Assiniboin, 1738-39, is given in French and English in the volume of the same series for 1889 (1890).

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SKETCH OF THE CHEYENNE GRAMMAR

BY

RODOLPHE PETTER

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SKETCH OF THE CHEYENNE GRAMMAR

By RODOLPHE PETTER

INTRODUCTION

When we say that the Cheyenne language has been classified with the Algonquian linguistic family, an introduction to the *general* character of the language is not needed here.

Still it must be borne in mind that an exhaustive comparative study of the Cheyenne can be entered upon only when the grammatic structure has been thoroughly determined. By the courtesy of the Bureau of American Ethnology I have had access to grammars and dictionaries of the Ojibwa, Cree, Micmac, Blackfoot, and Natick. My time was too limited to make an extended comparative study, but so far as I could judge the Cheyenne bears closer affinity to the Natick than to any other of the above named languages. The grammatic structure of the Cheyenne appears to be very different from the Ojibwa and Cree as well as from the Micmac and Natick. A common alphabet or a key to the systems used by the various authors in recording these languages would have given me a sure basis for comparison, but I failed to find such a guide in the grammars and dictionaries to which I have had access.

In the narrow limits of this sketch a full insight into the grammatic structure of the Cheyenne cannot be given, but I shall be well rewarded if students of Indian languages, especially Algonquian philologists, can make some use of it for further comparative study.

In working out the Cheyenne grammar I was careful not to mold it after preconceived ideas, but to let it naturally evolve itself from the language. After twelve years of constant study the mutation of vowels and consonants impelled me to search for the actual value of these sounds. It was after three years of unabated research that I was rewarded by a definite result.

Strictly speaking, the Cheyenne has only three vowel sounds, *a*, *e*, and *o* (to which we give the continental pronunciation). The vowel *i* takes the place of *e* in rapid speech or when contempt is implied. When *i* is followed by *a* or *o* it then is pronounced like *y* in *year*, *yes*. Examples: *one-se-om-etto* 'truly,' becomes *oni-sy-om-etto* in rapid speech or in contempt; *e-pe-va* 'he is good,' *e-me-se* 'he eats,' become *i-pi-va* and *i-mi-si* in colloquial language. *E-ha-mox-ta-eo* 'they are sick', *vo-na-e-om* 'temple of cleansing,' become *e-ha-mox-ta-yo* and *vo-na-yom* in rapid speech. The same is the case with the vowel *u*, which is a colloquial *o*, as *iu*, *eu*, pronounced like *u* in careless speech or in expressions of contempt. In my observation of these sounds I have discovered that *e* and *o* are pronounced *i* and *u*: (1) in rapid speech and to express contempt by *all* Cheyenne; (2) by half-breeds and such Indians as have lived in closer contact with white men, especially Indian women having white husbands. I believe further that the tendency among the younger generation to speak more rapidly brings the sounds *i* and *u* more to the foreground. But this is corrupt Cheyenne, and this sketch endeavors to present the language in its correct form.

The long sound of a vowel is indicated by a dash over it, as *ā*, *ē*, and *ō*; the short, abrupt sound by an accent, as *á*, *é*, and *ó*. An aspirated sound we mark by an inverted comma, thus, *á'*, *é'*, and *ó'*. Contraction of *a* and *o* we designate by *â*, while *o* + *e* contracts into *ô*, pronounced as *oi* in oil. The evanescent sound we represent by a breve, *ă*, *ĕ*, *ô*. The Cheyenne has no *d*, *f*, *j*, *l*, or *r*. It has different *s* sounds which we designate by: (1) *s* for the common *s* as in *so*, *such*; (2) *z* as German *z*, a very sharp hissing sound; (3) *ts*, a softer hissing sound, a little sharper than *z* in *azure*; (4) *t's* pronounced as though a very short *o* were between *t* and *s*; (5) *š* for an *s* sound which cannot be represented by *sh*, as it is much softer; its frequent use would also render the spelling cumbrous if rendered by *sh*. The sound of *ch* in *church* does not exist in Cheyenne, but with the letter *c* we express a sound very similar to *q* in the French word *inquiet*. Close attention will also show that the Cheyenne has

no *w* or *v* sounds; we use the letter *v* to express a sound similar to *hu* in the French *huit*, *huile*. As the letter *q* is used to render a peculiar *k* sound at the close of words, we designate the German guttural sound of *ch* by the letter *x*.

I. — ETYMOLOGIC VALUE OF CHEYENNE SOUNDS

- a* denotes predicate, subjectivity, state, adjectivity.
- á* denotes above meaning, but abrupt, separate, or negative.
- ā* denotes above meaning, but extensive or intensive.
- e* denotes article, item, it, substance, take place, pass, occur.
- é* denotes above meaning, but abrupt, separate, or negative.
- ē* denotes above meaning, but intensive or extensive.
- o* denotes objectivity, actual, body, set, one, in, solid.
- ó* denotes above meaning, but abrupt, separate, or negative.
- ō* denotes above meaning, but extensive, liquid, out.

b and *p* are used interchangeably. This sound denotes close against, cleave, chip, chop, flake, scale, etc.

c (pronounced somewhat like *t* in *mature*) is really a *k* before vowel *e*. It implies small, diminutive, curl, crest, curb.

g is identical with *k*, used by some Indians as a softer *k* as in *go*.

h denotes heave, heap, tend, forth.

k expresses short, diminutive, not full extent.

m denotes mediate, within, before, fore, aspect, tangent.

n denotes immediate, next, close, by, along, origin, spring.

s denotes part, sever, draw, issue.

š denotes loose, off, free, radiate.

t expresses unto, into, to, up to, at.

v denotes con-, corner, angle, bend, turn, with.

x expresses pressure, cross, through.

z implies pointing at, thus, this, etc.

II. — WORD FORMATION

The compounding of the above sounds forms distinct syllables which in their turn become constantly modified to express subjectivity, activity, and objectivity. Cheyenne children speak in syllables, not in words. I have also noticed that old Indians, especially women, do not separate their sentences into distinct words, but each syllable is articulated separately. In sacred

speech or in oration an old Cheyenne speaks in "sentences," not words, that is, his sentence forms one word, the different parts of the sentence not being so much separated as the syllables.

The language abounds in syllables which, while rarely used alone, are constantly used as prefixes, infixes, and suffixes; they lend themselves to endless combinations, can be inserted or reduplicated in the same word, and changed for others or compounded with others. Some of these particles are:

- (1) *-ha-* tense, in a high degree; *-há-* drop from; *-he-* to be to, unto; *-hé-* to be from, unto; *-ho-* come in; *-hó-* not reach; *-hō-* to go out; *-ka-* to be short; *-ko-* to set short; *-ce-* to be yielding, concave, soft; *-ma-* the, all of; *-me-* to appear, aspect of; *-hesse-* issue from, cause, from; *-hestōe-* issue from out; *-hov-* to gather, fold, heap; *-hōve-* empty, in vain; *-ta-om-* of self; *-me-no-* by group; *-nithov-* together as one; *-só-* still, at it, during; *-me-to-* alternating; *-ēve-* engaged in; *-ox-c-* habitually; *-as-* start; *one-se* attempt; *-o-ne-se-om-* truly; *-nee-* pursue; *-shov-* lessening; *-ox-* otherwise.
- (2) Comparative particles: *he'-pe* beyond, more; *oha* very much; *oham* more, rather; *hoss-o-ham* still more; *sē* alike; *ho-o-va* as much; *nanos* above all.
- (3) Infixes expressing continuity: *nše* keeping on; *ame* on, forward; *ō-e'-nov* holding out; *ne-nov* awhile; *me-sē* always; *sónše* still at it.
- (4) Infixes expressing mental or moral condition: *pe-va* good; *ha-vse-va* bad; *-he-to-ta* gladly; *vo-e-še* with joy, satisfaction; *to-taz* despising; *nox-tov* able.
- (5) Infixes implying posture: *-ho-txa* crosswise; *no-vo* bent forward; *eneha* holding upward; *eama* on the side; *zeš-kse-on* akimbo; *ho-so* backward; *ho-ox-se* leaning against; *ne-o-ve* standing; *ko-no* 'packing' ('hockend'); *ma-c-se* stooped; *ta-xe* upon; and so on.

The suffix *-ac*, *-ace*, *-aco* refers to being headed.

"	"	<i>-sta-ha</i>	"	"	hearted.
"	"	<i>-zes-ta</i>	"	"	minded.
"	"	<i>-o-an</i>	"	"	utterance.
"	"	<i>-o-nen</i>	"	"	teeth.
"	"	<i>-esz</i>	"	"	lips (speak).
"	"	<i>-ēs</i>	"	"	nose.

The suffix	<i>-en</i>	refers to face.
" "	<i>-ō, -nō</i>	" " look, sight.
" "	<i>-e-xan</i>	" " eyes.
" "	<i>-ēs-ta</i>	" " ears.
" "	<i>-o-ves</i>	" " hair (long hair).
" "	<i>-ā</i>	" " fur, haired.
" "	<i>-ev-a-e-na</i>	" " arms.
" "	<i>-eo-na</i>	" " hands.
" "	<i>-sta-eo-na</i>	" " palms of hands.
" "	<i>-eos</i>	" " fingers.
" "	<i>-ze-en</i>	" " tips of fingers.
" "	<i>-ox-ta</i>	" " legs.
" "	<i>-e-nom</i>	" " thigh.
" "	<i>-as</i>	" " abdownen.
" "	<i>-has</i>	" " fire.
" "	<i>-nstan</i>	" " knee.
" "	<i>-ax-ta</i>	" " foot.
" "	<i>-tan</i>	" " moral or mental.
" "	<i>-o-ma-ta</i>	" " feeling.

III. — THE NOUN

The true understanding of the Cheyenne noun presupposes a full comprehension of the verb. Thus its real place belongs after the verb in the grammatic arrangement of the language. In this sketch we shall treat it first.

We divide the Cheyenne nouns into fourteen different noun forms. Each noun can adopt either one or several of these forms.

(1) Nouns ending with suffix *-a*. Examples :

ho-to-a, cattle, buffalo. *ma-ta*, timber, wood.
o-ho-na, stone, rock, mountain. *ho-e-ma*, law, decrees.
ho-to-a-na-vo-o-ma, hardship, 'das Schwere.'

Such nouns always, if not *pluralia tantum*, denote a class of, category.

(2) Nouns ending with *o* or *ō*. Examples :

o-xo-vo, bridge, 'Crosser' from *na-o-xo-ve'n*, I cross.
ox-to-vō, merchandize ; from *na-ox-to-va*, I trade.
hos-to, news ; from *na-ho-es-ta*, I tell it abroad.

mxis-to, paper, book ; from *na-mxes-ton*, I write.
mans-to, handiwork ; from *na-ma-ne-sz*, I make it.

Such nouns imply objectivity.

(3) Nouns ending with *e*. Examples :

ho-e, earth ; *vo-e*, sky ; *o-he*, river.

Such nouns denote substance, being, article.

(4) Nouns with suffix *-van* or *-vhan*. Examples :

nāe-van, death, personified ; from *na-nāe*, I die.
hā-mox-tae-vhan, sickness ; from *na-ha-mox-toe*, I am sick.
nha-ene-vhan, catcher ; from *na-nha-en-en*, I catch.

This suffix *-van* implies a personal agent. To this class of nouns belongs also such a suffix as *-an*. Examples :

ma-tše-tan, das Denken ; *maz-ta-han*, that which is heart.
maz-hesta, the heart ; *vos-tan*, person, which has being.
zes-tan, that which is Cheyenne, Cheyenne tribe, person.

(5) Nouns ending in *-oxz* and *-oxzz*. Examples :

ae-no-vox-zz, property, subject to ; from *na-ae-no*, I own him.
hoe-ma-ox-zz, law, which one has ; from *na-hoe-man*, I make a law.

Such nouns have a subjective-objective nature.

(6) Nouns ending in *-estoz* *-stoz*. Examples :

o-xo-vo-hes-toz, the bridging ; from *na-o-xo-ve'n*, I cross.
vos-tan-ehe-ves-toz, the living ; from *vos-tan*, person.
a-me-tan-en-es-toz, the living ; from *na-a-me, ta-nen*, I live.
nā-es-toz, the dying ; from *na-nāe*, I die.

Such nouns are verbal substantives and are extensively used.

(7) Nouns with suffix *-xe* or *-stxe*. Examples :

o-ho-na-stxe, place of stones, region of stones.
ma-ta-stxe, place of woods.
hav-sev-stxe, place of evil.
nā-stxe, place of the dead.

Such nouns imply a place, region, collection, all of.

(8) Nouns ending in *-eše*. Examples :

šis-ta-to-e-še, growth of cedar ; from *šis-ta-to*, cedar or pine.
maxe-me-no-e-še, orchard of apple trees.
ha-oe-tam-oxz-e-še, the depths.

Such nouns indicate growth, radiation, spread, issuance.

(9) Diminutive noun form. This takes place by adding the suffix *-es*, *-s*, or *-son* to express 'young,' and the suffix *-k* or *-c* to express 'small.' Examples :

<i>e-ma-o</i> , it is red ;	<i>e-ma-ko</i> , it is 'little' red.
<i>ma-e-ma-ka-et</i> , red metal ;	<i>ma-ce-ma-ka-et</i> , little red metal.
<i>ma-ha-et</i> , iron in bulk ;	<i>ma-ka-et</i> , small piece of iron.
<i>mo-ox-ta</i> , black (in bulk) ;	<i>mo-k-ta</i> , small black.
<i>ve-ho</i> , chief ;	<i>ve-ho-c</i> , little chief.
<i>ve'-ho</i> , white man ;	<i>ve'-ho-ces</i> , young white man.
<i>he-tan-evō</i> , cloud-man (Arapaho) ;	<i>he-tan-evo-eson</i> , young Arapaho.
<i>o-he</i> , river ;	<i>o-hec</i> , little river.
<i>o-ho-na</i> , stone ;	<i>o-ho-nac</i> , small stone ; <i>o-ho-na-es</i> , young stone.

A few nouns have different words for the diminutive :

<i>ho-ne</i> , wolf ;	<i>mo'-na-ze-zes</i> , wolf pup.
<i>xa-ma-hox-zz</i> , cottonwood ;	<i>mes-ze</i> , young cottonwood.
<i>ve-ces</i> , bird ;	<i>mo-ne-vat</i> , young bird.

Sometimes the noun is prefixed by *-ka*, 'short,' to express the diminutive. Example :

<i>ka-osz</i> , short grass ;	<i>ha-osz</i> , long grass.
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(10) Ablative noun form. This occurs when the noun is suffixed by *-evā*. Nouns ending in *-toz* make *-ovā*. Examples :

<i>o-ho-na-evā</i> , by, with the stone ;	from <i>o-ho-na</i> , stone.
<i>hoxze-zevā</i> , on, in, by the tree ;	from <i>hoxzz</i> , tree.
<i>me-ses-tovā</i> , by, with, through food ;	from <i>me-ses-toz</i> , food.
<i>ma'-pe-vā</i> , by, in the water ;	from <i>ma'p</i> , water.

Common names of persons form their ablative by the suffix *-o* :

<i>he-tan</i> , man ;	<i>he-tan-o</i> , by man.
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(11) Proper names. These for the greater part are taken from sun, moon, stars, clouds, birds, animals, rocks, trees, with varied qualifications of size, strength, color, position, condition, etc. Examples :

<i>E-še-ox-ma-hāsz</i> , Red-sun or moon.
<i>E-še-ox-me-e'nsz</i> , Sun-coming-up.
<i>E-še-ox-mox-ta-vasz</i> , Black-sun or moon.
<i>Vo-eva-ox-taxe-osz</i> , On-cloud-a-sitting-one (Man-on-the-cloud).

Vo-e-ve-ho, Cloud-chief.
Niz-vo-ko-masz, White-Eagle.
E-o-ve-ā-no, Yellow-Hawk.
Na'k-ox-hās, Brave-Bear.
Ho-to-a-xō-sz, Bull-Sitting.

It will be seen that particle *ox* is much used as an infix, sometimes as a prefix ; it indicates a verbal proper noun.

(12) Names of plants and shrubs. These are for the greater part suffixed by *-óe*, *-nóe*, *ós*, *-nós*, the vowel *ó* indicating 'plant' or 'grass.' Examples :

<i>maxemenós</i> , plum shrubs.	<i>zes-tós</i> , prairie grass (in spring).
<i>vanós</i> , sagebrush.	<i>he-kós</i> , buffalo grass.
<i>mae-no-a-ne-o-nós</i> , sumac.	<i>pavoó</i> , good pasture.
<i>mae-me-nós</i> , cherry shrub.	<i>oxo-ó</i> , green grass.
<i>vi-ta-nós</i> , cat-tail brush.	<i>ohaó</i> , rank grass.
<i>mhá-ós</i> , red-grass (rough prairie grass).	

(13) Nouns in the plural form. The Cheyenne have a plural form for animate nouns, made by suffix *-eo*, except for words ending in *m* or *v*, which simply take *-o*. Thus :

<i>he-tan</i> , man ;	<i>hee</i> , woman ;	<i>kaš-gon</i> , child ;
<i>he-tan-eo</i> , men.	<i>hee-o</i> , women.	<i>kaš-gon-eo</i> , children.

The plural form for inanimate nouns is rendered by suffix *-oz*. Nouns ending in *-toz* become *-totoz* in the plural ; thus :

<i>men</i> , berry ;	<i>men-oz</i> , berries.
<i>ēs-zis-toz</i> , word ;	<i>ēs-zis-to-toz</i> , words.

Inanimate nouns ending with *a* in the singular take the suffix *-nsz* to form the plural ; thus :

<i>ma-ka-eta</i> , money ;	<i>ma-ka etansz</i> , moneys.
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As animate nouns the Cheyenne consider also the names of certain inanimate objects ; thus, *o-ho-na* stone, *he-ne-no* tomato, *a-mo-ene-o* wagon, *aes-to-ma-me-ses-to-to* potato, are animate. Drygoods are also considered as animate.

(14) Possessive form of the noun. There are two sets of possessive pronominal prefixes :

<i>na</i> , my ;	<i>ni</i> , of mine.
<i>ni</i> , thy ;	<i>e</i> , of thine.
<i>he</i> , one's ;	<i>heve</i> , of one's.
<i>na</i> , our (excl.) ;	<i>ni</i> , of ours (excl.).
<i>ni</i> , our (incl.) ;	<i>e</i> , of ours (incl.).
<i>ni</i> , your ;	<i>e</i> , of yours.
<i>he</i> , their ;	<i>heve</i> , of their.

Examples :

<i>na-mha-yo</i> , my house ;	<i>ni-nov</i> , my home.
<i>ni-mha-yo</i> , thy house ;	<i>e-nov</i> , thy home.
<i>he-mha-yo</i> , one's house ;	<i>he-ve-nov</i> , one's home.
<i>na-mha-yo-nan</i> , our (excl.) house ;	<i>ni-no-van</i> , our home.
<i>ni-mha-yo-nan</i> , our (incl.) house ;	<i>e-no-van</i> , our home.
<i>ni-mha-yo-nevo</i> , your house ;	<i>e-no-vevo</i> , your home.
<i>he-mha-yo-nevo</i> , their house ;	<i>he-ve-no-vevo</i> , their home.

Acquired possession is usually distinguished by suffix *-am* or *-em* ; thus :

men = berry

<i>na-me-nam</i> , my berry ;	<i>na-me-na-moz</i> , my berries.
<i>ni-me-nam</i> , thy berry ;	<i>ni-me-na-moz</i> , thy berries.
<i>he-me-nam</i> , one's berry ;	<i>he-me-na-moz</i> , one's berries.
<i>na-me-na-man</i> , our (excl.) berry ;	<i>na-me-na-ma-noz</i> , our berries.
<i>ni-me-na-man</i> , our (incl.) berry ;	<i>ni-me-na-ma-noz</i> , our berries.
<i>ni-me-na-mevo</i> , your berry ;	<i>ni-me-na-mevoz</i> , your berries.
<i>he-me-na-me-vo</i> , their berry ;	<i>he-me-na-me-voz</i> , their berries.

kaš-gon = child (not own)

<i>na-kaš-go-nam</i> , my child ;	<i>na-kaš-go-na-mo</i> , my children.
<i>ni-kaš-go-nam</i> , thy child ;	<i>ni-kaš-go-na-mo</i> , thy children.
<i>he-kaš-go-nam</i> , one's child ;	<i>he-kaš-go-namo</i> , one's children.
<i>na-kaš-go-na-man</i> , our (excl.) child ;	<i>na-kaš-go-na-ma-neo</i> , our (excl.) children.
<i>ni-kaš-go-na-man</i> , our (incl.) child ;	<i>ni-kaš-go-na-ma-neo</i> , our (incl.) children.
<i>ni-kaš-go-na-mevo</i> , your child ;	<i>ni-kaš-go-na-me-vō</i> , your children.
<i>he-kaš-go-na-mevo</i> , their child ;	<i>he-kaš-go-na-me-vō</i> , their children.

Forms denoting inherent possession drop the suffix *-am*, but take *-an*, *-evo* in the 1st, 2d, and 3d person plural.

There are other possessive forms on which this sketch cannot dwell.

The Cheyenne makes no definite distinction between genders. Some nouns suffix *-a*, which denotes the feminine, also subjectivity. Examples :

<i>na'-ko</i> , bear ;	<i>na'-ka</i> , she bear.
<i>ve'-ho</i> , white man ;	<i>ve'-ho-a</i> , white woman.

This formation is no doubt very old ; its use seems to be restricted to a few nouns and proper names. To distinguish between male and female the Cheyenne use the prefix *he-tane*, male, and *hee*, female. In some proper names the suffix *ō* (opened, out, distant, etc.) is used to express the feminine. Following is a short list of proper names, masculine and feminine :

Na'-ko-e-vo-ē-ta, Bear-doing (acting)-well (male).
Na'-ka, Bear-woman.
Veox-ce-na'-ka, Bitter-Bear-woman.
Na'-k-no-ka, Bear-Alone-woman.
Na'-ko-eme-ona, Bear-Road-woman.
Na'-ko-eno-nē, Bear-Singing-woman.
Mae-ves, Red-Bird.
Mae-ve-kse-a, Red-Bird-woman.
Taxem, Buffalo-Wallow.
Taxe-me-ō, Buffalo-Wallow-woman.
Hotoa, Buffalo-Bull.
Hot-ox-ka, Buffalo-Bull-woman.
Es-se-vo-na, Buffalo-woman.
Ox-me-e'nsz, Coming-up.
Me-eō, Coming-up-woman.

Following are examples of different noun-forms :

hoe-mane, law-maker, really 'Gesetzer.'
ze-hoe-mansz, he-who-makes-law.
hoe-ma-osane, judge, law-issuer.
Hoe-ma-evan, the law (personified).
hoe-ma, that which is law.
hoe-man-es-toz, the passing of a law.
Ox-hoe-man-sz, law (proper name).

hoe-mans-txe, realm of laws.
hoe-ma-ova-zes-toz, the making of a law for one.
hoe-ma-oxz, law which one has.
hoe-ma-o-ta-zes-toz, the passing of law upon one.
hoe-mane-tan-ox-toz, the desire of making a law.
hoe-mane-vo-mo-tsa-nis-toz, a law in behalf of one.
hoe-mane-me-a-he, law-giver.
tā-eva-vho-e-ma-nis-toz, regulation.
hoe-mane-mha-yo, court-house.
hoe-mane-ve'-ho, lawyer.
hoe-mane-ma-ha-kse-o, old council men (applied also to Senators at Washington).
hoe-mane-mxis-to, law book.
ono-hoe-ma-nis-toz, just law.
pav-hoe-ma-nis-toz, good law.

IV. — ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, INTERJECTIONS, AND ARTICLES

(1) ADJECTIVES are incorporated usually in the noun as infixes; as predicates in the verb they are rendered by suffix *-a*, thus:

ha-vse-va-vos-tan-ehe-ves-toz, bad life, or a life which is bad.
e-pe-va, it is good.
e-he-ne-eno-vae, he is learned.
e-hes-ze-he-na, he is coated (from *eszehe*n, coat, shirt).

But as in Cheyenne many nouns are verbal in form, the infixes have more the character of adverbs than of adjectives; thus *ha-vse-ve-vos-tan-ehe-ves-toz*, 'badly living,' is more nearly correct for the Indian than *hav-se-va-vos-tan-ehe-ves-toz*, 'bad life.'

The characteristic sign of the pure adjective form in an infix or a suffix is the vowel *a*, while the vowel *e* indicates an adverb. Examples:

e-hā-mox-tae, one is sick.
e-ha-ô-na, one is praying.
e-si-tc-vōs-ena, it is mid-day.
e-mae-ox-tae, he is red-legged.
a-me-ta-ne-ne-ma'p, living water, or water with life.
na-ni-vse-vō-me-ma'p, clear water, or 'through-seen water.'

(2) ADVERBS are used always as infixes, usually ending with *e*. Examples :

na-pe-ve-ēs, I well speak ; from *na* I, *peve* well, *ēs* speak, utter, 'lip out.'

na-hav-se-ve-ma-nes, I make it badly ; from *na* I, *havseve* badly, *manes* make it.

na-no-no-tove-neox, I go hurriedly ; from *na* I, *nonotove* hurriedly, *neox* go.

(3) PREPOSITIONS are used in divers ways, either incorporated in the verb or detached. When infixed they are used like adverbs ; when detached they suffix *-to* ; for instance : *-ēs*, into, as infix ; *na-ēs-ē-na-na* I into put it ; or, I can say *ēs-eto na-ē-nana*, into I put it. The detached preposition emphasizes its importance. Oftentimes the preposition requires the ablative form of the noun. Example : *e-ta-xe-hoe ma'-pe-va*, he stands upon (*taxe*) the water : *e-ta-xe-hoe ma'p* would be incorrect ; *ta-xe-to ma'-pe-va e-hoe*, upon water he stands (or sits). When the preposition relates the verb with a pronoun, it is usually expressed by *t* in the suffix ; for instance, *na-ha-ô-na* I am praying, *na-ha-ô-na-tovo* I am praying to him ; *na-ka-ne-ox* I am tired, *na-ka-ne-ox-etovo* I am tired of him, etc.

(4) CONJUNCTIONS are found detached and infixed. *nā*, and ; *ohā*, but ; *ma-to*, too ; *a-has*, also ; *nitho-ve-to*, together with, are always used separately. *ox*, though, otherwise ; *va'-tom*, nevertheless ; *só*, still ; *hesse*, because ; *ve*, with, are usually infixed.

(5) INTERJECTIONS are always detached particles.

yā ! denoting surprise (used by males only).

na'-ko-ē ! denoting surprise (used by females only).

no-ō ! *no-ō* ! *ah* ! (used by women).

hax-c ! denotes impatience, annoyance.

hes-c ! denotes astonishment, "du liebe Zeit !"

aho-yā ! or *aha-hē* denotes woe.

go ! expresses poor ; pauvre diable !

ahā, denotes 'wohl auf.'

ne-hē ! implies disgust.

nohetto ! go ahead ! now then !

neš ! quit !

hoxtao, 'absolut nicht.'

Exclamations in plays and when making herald announcements are expressed by suffix *-ēē* to the words, as *mo-hē-oxze-ēē!* *he-tan-esz-ēē!* *ni-o-nō-man-emē-ē!* 'gather ye men, you are called.' In former times these forms were always used by Cheyenne at their different out-of-door plays, but the younger generation have dropped the ending *-ēē* and it seems to have destroyed the charm of such plays.

(6) Strictly speaking there is no article in Cheyenne, but there are two prefixes that come near to it, viz, *ma-* prefixed to nouns, and *o-* prefixed to verbs :

ma-ex, the eye, 'alles was Auge ist.'

ma-vō-sa-nes-toz, the seeing, that which is sight.

ma-he-o, das was Father is, All-father. This word is used exclusively to mean Creator, Erzeuger, God ; from *nihoe*, my father.

ma-axc, that which is mother, 'was Mutter heisst' ; from *na'-ko-e*, my mother.

o-me-se-nov, the eating, when there is eating.

o-ne-oxze-nov, the going there, when there is a going.

o-vōs-ane-nov, the seeing, when there is a seeing.

V. — PRONOUNS

(1) PERSONAL PRONOUNS are : *na*, I ; *ni*, thou, and *e*, one, which are prefixed to the stem of the verb. The plural personal pronouns are : *na-*, we (excl.) ; *ni*, we (incl.) ; *ni*, you ; *e*, they. But these plural persons require a special suffix to the verbal stem, thus :

na — *heme*, we (one and I).

ni — *hemă*, we (you and I).

ni — *heme*, you.

e — (*e*)*o*, they.

Examples :

na-vō-san, I-sight-issue, I see.

ni-vō-san, thou seest.

e-vō-san, one sees.

na-vō-san-heme, one and I see.

ni-vō-san-he-mă, you and I see.

ni-vō-san-he-me, you see.

e-vō-san-eo, they see.

na-nē-hov, I, myself, my being.

ni-nē-hov, thou, thyself.

e-nē-hov, one, itself.

na-nē-hov-heme, one and I, ourselves.

-*he-* denotes 'it to one' and has a possessive meaning; thus, *na-he-ve-hes-tov*, I-it is to-name, ὁνομα μοι ἐστι (*mihī nomen est*); *na-he-ve-hō-mō*, I-have-to-see-one; *na-he-vēs-to-me-vo*, I-it is unto-ask-of-him, or, it is that which I ask of him, from *na-vēs-to-me-vo*, I ask of him. -*ne-* denotes relation, the "it mentioned" "it, there," etc. Example: *na-nē-hov*, it is I, I am the one who, I myself.

VI. — NUMERALS

(1) CARDINAL NUMBERS:

<i>no-kă</i> , 1	<i>nī-sox-toă</i> , 7 (two added)
<i>nī-xă</i> , 2	<i>nā-nox-toă</i> , 8 (three added)
<i>năă</i> , 3	<i>sō-ox-toă</i> , 9 (still added)
<i>ne-vă</i> , 4	<i>ma-tox-toa</i> , 10 (all of it)
<i>nohon</i> , 5	<i>ma-toxt-oxt-no-kă</i> , 11
<i>nā-sox-toă</i> , 6 (one added)	<i>ma-toxt-oxt-nī-xă</i> , 12.

Often times the prefix *ma-toxt* is omitted:

<i>no-kōe</i> , 10 (une dizaine)	<i>nī-xă-ma-toxt-noe</i> , 200
<i>nī-sōe</i> , 20 (une vingtaine)	<i>no-kă-ma-toxt-nōe oxt-no-kōe</i> , 110
<i>na-nōe</i> , 30	<i>no-ka-ma-toxt-nōe oxt-nī-xa</i> , 112
<i>nivōe</i> , 40	<i>nohona-ma-toxt-noe oxt-no-ho-nōe</i>
<i>nohonōe</i> , 50	<i>oxt-nohon</i> , 555
<i>nā-soxt-nōe</i> , 60	<i>ma-tox-toă-ma-toxt-noe</i> , 10 times
<i>nī-soxt-nōe</i> , 70	100
<i>na-noxt-nōe</i> , 80	<i>maxe-ma-toxt-noe</i> , 1,000 or
<i>sō-oxt-nōe</i> , 90 (une noinantaine)	10,000
<i>ma-toxt-nōe</i> , 100 (une centaine)	<i>vo-no-es-tons-tov</i> , lost in number,
<i>nokă-ma-toxt-nōe</i> , one hundred	myriads, millions.

The above numerals when infixed in the verb take the following forms:

<i>na-noce-mese</i> , I-one-eat;	<i>nī-nā-sox-txe-mes-hemă</i> , we-6-eat;
<i>nī-niše-mes-hema</i> , we-2-eat;	<i>nī-oxt-no-ce-mes-hemă</i> , we-11-eat;
<i>nī-nāhe-mes-heme</i> , you-3-eat;	<i>nī-nisōe-mes-heme</i> , you-20-eat.
<i>e-nive-meseo</i> , they-4-eat;	

(2) ORDINAL NUMBERS:

<i>ze-vo-vo-asz</i> , the first (anim.);	<i>ze-vo-vo-o-netto</i> (inan.).
{ <i>ze-ho-na-o-vasz</i> , the 2d (anim.);	{ <i>ze-ho-na-o-netto</i> (inan.).
{ <i>ze-nī-xa-o-vasz</i> , the 2d (anim.);	{ <i>ze-nī-xa-o-netto</i> (inan.).

ze-na-ha-o-vasz, the 3rd (anim.); *ze-na-ha-o-netto* (inan.).

ze-no-ho-na-o-vasz, the 5th (anim.); *ze-no-ho-na-o-netto* (inan.).

ze-na-soxt-ta-o-vasz, the 6th (anim.); *ze-na-sox-ta-o-netto* (inan.).

ze-oxt-no-ka-o-vasz, the 11th (anim.); *ze-oxt-no-ka-o-netto* (inan.).

ze-ni-só-o-vasz, the 20th (anim.); *ze-ni-só-o-netto* (inan.).

ze-vo-vo-á-etto, I, the first one. *ze-vo-vo-a-étto*, thou, the first one.

ze-vo-vo-asz, one, the first one. *ze-vo-vo-à-ez*, we, the first ones.

ze-vo-vo-a-ess, you, the first ones. *ze-vo-vo-a-evoz*, they, the first

ze-vo-vo-a-ets, they, the first ones ones.

(excl.).

(3) MULTIPLICATIVE NUMBERS:

noká, once.

na-sox-tá, six times.

nixá, twice.

ma-tox-tá, ten times.

nāhá, thrice.

oxt-no-ká, eleven times.

nivá, four times.

ni-só, twenty times.

Example:

ni-xá

e-šē-va

na-me-se

twice

in a day

I eat

nixá tō-evha-vetto ni-xá, two times over again two

no-ho-na tō-evha-vetto ne-vă, five times over again four.

(4) NUMBERS EXPRESSING RAMIFICATION, DIVISION:

- e-ni-so-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 2.
- e-na-no-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 3.
- e-ne-vo-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 4.
- e-no-ho-no-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 5.
- e-na-soxt-o-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 6.
- e-oxt-no-ko-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 11.
- e-ni-só-o-nae*, it (anim.) is branched into 20.

e-ni-so-o-nattō, it (inan.) branches into 2.

e-na-no-o-nattō, it (inan.) branches into 3.

e-ni-so-ne-o, it (clothing, drygoods), fringes into 2.

e-na-no-ne-o, it (clothing, drygoods), fringes into 3.

e-ne-vo-ne-o, it (clothing, drygoods), fringes into 4.

e-na-soxt-o-ne-o, it (clothing, drygoods), fringes into 5.

e-ni-só-o-ne-o, it (clothing, drygoods), fringes into 20.

(5) NUMBERS EXPRESSING "FOLDED TOGETHER":

e-no-ká-ma-eă, it is folded once together.

e-ni-xá-ma-ea, it is folded twice together.

e-na-sox-tá-ma-ea, it is folded six times together.

(6) NUMBERS EXPRESSING FOLD, INFOLDED:

nok-höv, one-fold; *nok-hov ma-ta-o-ce-me-noz*, one-fold (package) of coffee.

no-hon-höv, quintuple.

nis-hov, two-fold.

só-oxt-höv, nonuple.

na-nhöv, three-fold, triple.

ni-só-höv, twenty-fold.

ni-vhöv, quadruple.

(7) DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS:

no-no-nasz, one to each.

no-no-no-hó, five to each.

no-no-niš, two to each.

no-no-ni-só, twenty to each.

no-niš, two at a time to one.

no-nive, four at a time to one.

no-nahe, three at a time to one.

no-ma-toxte-mo-me-no-ea, by groups of 10.

no-nisoe-mo-me-no-ea, by groups of 20.

(8) PARTITIVE NUMERALS:

na-sz, one of.

ne-ve, four of.

oxt-nasz, eleven of.

niš, two of.

no-hó, five of.

nisó, twenty of.

na-he, three of.

nā-sox-te, six of.

All the different forms of the numerals can be conjugated as verbs and form verbal substantives.

VII. — THE VERB

Every student of Indian languages knows that their grammar is in the verb. In such a brief sketch as this we may only touch, in passing, the main structure of the verb without going into its infinite modifications and ramifications.

The embryos of the Cheyenne verb are the three vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*. The *e* changes into *i* only in rapid speech and when a syllable becomes very short. *a* denotes subjectivity, state; *e* implies issuance, being, existence, while *o* expresses object,

inherence, actuality. From these embryos are developed verbal stems, forms, persons, states, and modes.

The verb is naturally divided into two main forms — the *coordinate*, used for independent clauses, and the *subordinate*, used in expressing dependent clauses.

A. — THE COORDINATE VERBAL FORM

I. ITS PERSONS. — The coordinate verbal form has seven persons expressed by pronominal prefixes, as exemplified under "Personal Pronouns." The characteristic of the coordinate form are these pronominal prefixes.

II. ITS TENSES. — Tense or temporal form of the verb in Cheyenne is expressed by infixes inserted immediately after the pronominal prefix. The present tense has no special infix of time. Examples :

1. PRESENT : *na-me-se*, I eat (*me-se*, eat).
ni-me-se, thou eatest.
e-me-se, one eats.
na-mes-he-mě, we (he and I) eat.
ni-meš-he-mă, we (you and I) eat.
ni-mes-he-mě, you eat.
e-me-seö, they eat.

2. PAST : *na'-me-se*, I ate.

(The aspirated sound is a sign of the past.)

3. PRETERIT : *na-eše-me-se*, I have eaten.
4. FUTURE : *na-ze-me-se*, I shall eat.

Thus in Cheyenne there is no special tense form modifying the stem of the verb ; temporal infixes are used without causing any change in the flection of the verb. These infixes are numerous and lend a great possibility of temporal forms, several of which indicate minute degrees of time.

Following are some of the temporal infixes :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>ta</i> , at ; | <i>tó</i> , at the very point ; |
| <i>tose</i> , to be going to ; | <i>ta-tose</i> , at the point of issuance ; |
| <i>meha</i> , was ; | <i>tše</i> , now, just now ; |
| <i>mone</i> , recently ; | <i>eš-ta</i> , reached ; |
| <i>eš-to-se</i> , almost reached ; | <i>vās</i> , finished, complete. |

III. ITS STATES. — By verbal states we mean the peculiar condition of the verbal form. We find the following states :

I. INTRANSITIVE STATE, denoting the verbal form in its generic condition, having no specified object.

(A) WITH CAUSATIVE suffixes **-san** and **-sen**.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na-v\bar{o}-san, \text{ I-sight-am with ; I see.} \\ na-v\bar{o}-sen, \text{ I-sight-take place ; I do see.} \end{array} \right.$

(B) WITH MENTAL suffix **-tan** :

na-me-se-tan, I-eat-desire. *na-eše-tan*, I-do-in mind ; I think.

(C) WITH PROGRESSIVE suffixes **-oxz**, **ax**, **e'n** :

ma-ha, large ; *e-m-a-hae-oxz*, he-large becomes ;
na-am-e'n, I-on-walk.

(D) WITH SUFFIX **-eve**, 'to exist as' :

he-tan, man, male ; *na-he-tan-eve*, I-man-am-it ; I am a man.
ve-ho, chief ; *e-ve-ho-ne-ve*, he-chief-is-it.

(*v* denotes curve, bend, arch ; *ve-ho*, the archer.)

(E) WITH SUFFIX **-hess** or **-zhess**, like, similar :

e-he-tan-eve-zhess, it-man-is-like ; it is manlike.

(F) WITH SUFFIXES **-an**, **-en**, **-on**, implying relation.

-an, subjective relation :

na-me-tan, I-given-to-am ; I am given to.

-en, performing, doing :

na-hes-tan-en, I-take, or I am taking.

-on, objective relation :

na-mea-ton, I-a gift-for one ; I am given away.

(G) WITH SUFFIXES —

-ovā, haired, furred.

-ōva, referring to water : *na-nha-ōva*, I-caught-by water.

-tovā, referring to 'issuing smoke.'

-ō, referring to sight : *na-pev-ō*, I have good sight ; *e-ho-xe-nō*, he looks clean.

-ō, referring to grass or plant : *e-o-haō*, it is very grassy.

-tamano, referring to a general aspect, condition, atmosphere :
e-pev-a-ta-ma-no, it is good weather ; *e-o-ha-ta-ma-no*, it is very risky, dangerous.

- eš, to be spread, lying, radiating: *na-o-veš*, I lie down; *na-ta-xe-o-eš*, I am cut.
- aha, referring to wind ('the thrower'): *na-ase-to-eōs-taha*, I-carried-out- (by) wind.
- vaen, referring to ablative or instrumental meaning: *na-me-ze-va-eno*, I let him have it, I pass it to him, hand it over to him; *na-hōe-ne-va-eno*, I let him go out = by me he goes out.
- ēa, to be in a state: *en-so-om-ea*, it is boiling; *e-ma-tan-ea*, it is wasting away.
- os, referring to cold: *na-na-toss*, I am getting cold; *na-aha-nos*, I- (die) of cold; Je meurs de froid.
- evs-ton, made of: *ma-kae-ta*, iron, metal; *e-ma-kae-ta-eve*, it is iron; *e-ma-kae-ta-evs-ton*, it is made of iron.
- ohas, burning, flaming: *e-ma-xe-o-has*, it-great-flaming = burns with great flames.

2. IMPERSONAL STATE. — This is the impersonal verbal form prefixed by *e-* and suffixed by *-etto*:

e-mxes-ton, he writes; *e-mxes-ton-etto*, it writes.

me-ses-toz, food; *e-mses-tov*, it is a food; *e-mses-tov-etto*, it acts as a food.

e-me-se, he eats; *e-mse-nov*, there is an eating.

3. TRANSITIVE STATE. — This is the verb with a direct or indirect object, animate or inanimate. The characteristic suffixes of this state are *o* to indicate the animate, and *a* with *-esz* to express the inanimate. Examples:

na-vō-san, I am with sight; I see. *na-vō-mo*, I see one (anim.).
na-vōx-ta, I see it.

The Transitive State has three voices:

Active voice: *na-vō-mo*, I see one.

Passive voice: *na-vō-man*, I am seen.

Reflective voice: *na-vō-maz*, I see myself (Je me vois).

The Active Voice takes —

(a) PERSONAL SUFFIXES. Examples:

{	<i>na-vō-mo</i> , I see one;
	<i>nī-vō-maz</i> , I see three;
	<i>na-vō-mō</i> , I see them;
	<i>nī-vō-maz-emē</i> , I see you.

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-mo, thou seest one;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{o}, thou seest them;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-me, thou seest me;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-me-men\ddot{o}, thou seest us.} \end{array} \right.$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{e-v\ddot{o}-mo, one sees one;} \\ \text{e-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{a}e, one is seen by one;} \\ \text{na-v\ddot{o}-ma, one sees me;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-ma, one sees thee;} \\ \text{na-v\ddot{o}-ma-en, one sees us (he and I);} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-ma-en, one sees us (you and I);} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-ma-ev\ddot{o}, one sees you;} \\ \text{e-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{o}, one sees them;} \\ \text{e-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{a}e, one is seen by them.} \end{array} \right.$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{na-v\ddot{o}-mon, we see one;} \\ \text{na-v\ddot{o}-mon-eo, we see them;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-maz-eme-n\ddot{o}, we see thee or you.} \end{array} \right.$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-mo-v\ddot{o}, you see one;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-mov\ddot{o}, you see them;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-me-me, you see me;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-me-me-n\ddot{o}, you see us.} \end{array} \right.$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{e-v\ddot{o}-mo-v\ddot{o}, they see one;} \\ \text{e-v\ddot{o}-mo-v\ddot{o}, they see them;} \\ \text{na-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{a}e, they see me;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-m\ddot{a}e, they see thee;} \\ \text{na-v\ddot{o}-ma-en-eo, they see us;} \\ \text{ni-v\ddot{o}-ma-ev\ddot{o}, they see you;} \\ \text{e-v\ddot{o}-ma-ev\ddot{o}, they are seen by them.} \end{array} \right.$

(b) PERSONAL AND ACCUSATIVE ANIMATE SUFFIXES :

- na-me-to*, I-give-to one ;
ho-tam na-me-to-notto, dog, I give to one ;
ho-tam na-me-tae-notto, a dog one gives to me ;
ho-tam na-me-ton-on, a dog, we give to one ;
ho-tam na-me-ton-ov\ddot{o}, a dog, I give to them ;
ho-tam ni-me-taze-notto, a dog, I give to thee ;
ho-tam ni-me-ta-ze-nov, a dog, I give to you.

(c) PERSONAL AND ACCUSATIVE INANIMATE SUFFIXES :

- na-me-to*, I give it to one ;
na-me-to-noz, I give those to one ;

na-me-to-no-voz, I give those to them ;
na-me-to-non, we give it to one ;
na-me-to-non-sz, we give those to one ;
na-me-to-ne-on-sz, we give those to them ;
na-me-to-ne-on, we give it to them.

(d) INANIMATE ACCUSATIVE SUFFIXES :

<i>na-vōx-ta</i> , I see it ;	<i>na-vōx-ta-noz</i> , I see those.
<i>ni-vōx-ta</i> , thou seest it ;	<i>ni-vōx-ta-noz</i> , thou seest those.
<i>e-vōx-to</i> , one sees it ;	<i>e-vōx-ta-noz</i> , one sees those.
<i>na-vōx-ta-non</i> , we see it ;	<i>na-vōx-ta-non-sz</i> , we see those.
<i>ni-vōx-ta-nov</i> , you see it ;	<i>ni-vōx-ta-no-voz</i> , you see those.
<i>e-vōx-ta-nov</i> , they see it ;	<i>e-vōx-ta-no-voz</i> , they see those.

The Passive Voice takes the following personal suffixes :

na-vōm-an, I am seen ; I-seen-a-one.
ni-vōm-an, thou art seen.
e-vōm-e, one is seen.
na-vōm-an-hemě, we (he and I) are seen.
ni-vōm-an-hemă, we (you and I) are seen.
ni-vōm-an-hemě, you are seen.
e-vōm-eo, they are seen.

This voice can also add animate and inanimate accusative suffixes, which are the same as for the active voice. Examples :

kaš-gon na-me-tan-e-notto, a child I am given to.
ma-kae-tan-sz ni-me-tan-e-no-voz, moneys you-given-are-to-those.

The Reflective Voice takes the following personal suffixes :

na-vōm-az, I see myself (Ich sehe mich) ;
ni-vōm-az, thou seest thyself ;
e-vōm-az, one sees one's self ;
na-vōm-az-hemě, we see ourselves (excl.) ;
ni-vōm-az-hemă, we see ourselves (incl.) ;
e-vōm-az-eo, they see themselves ;
ni-vōm-az-hemö, you see yourselves.

The Transitive State has nine different objective suffixes, viz :

-*mo* (anim.), -*ōxta* (inan.) denotes correlative meaning ;
 -*no* (anim.), -*na* (inan.) denotes relative meaning ;
 -*oto* (anim.), -*oxta* (inan.) denotes dative meaning ;
 -*eto* (anim.), -*esta* (inan.) denotes prepositional clause ;

-*evo*, *ovo* (anim.), -*a* (inan.) denotes ablative meaning;
 -*oho* (anim.), -*oxz* (inan.) denotes accusative meaning.

(4) THE INSTRUMENTAL STATE of the verb is used whenever action is done by tool or instrument, something done "through, by means of," etc. The letters *s* and *x* are characteristic of this state. There are also three voices as in the transitive state.

Examples:

Active Voice: *na-ta-xe-o-na-sö*, I cut his hand.

Passive Voice: *na-ta-xe-o-nae*, I have a hand cut.

Reflective Voice: *na-ta-xe-o-na-xěsz*, I cut my hand.

na-ox-aso, I split one (anim.);

na-ox-a'-no, I split one (anim.), with strokes;

na-ox-o'-no, I split one (anim.), with one stroke;

na-von-âx-no, I-loose-by fire-one;

na-von-öm-âx-no, I-loose-(by)liquid-hot-one: I scald him to death.

The flection of this Instrumental State is affected by the guttural sound, which forces the vowels to mutate in consequence.

Examples:

na-ox-aso, I-in two-cut-one: I cut him in two;

na-ox-asö, I cut them in two;

ni-ox-axěsz, I cut thee in two;

ni-ox-ax-e-zeme, I cut you in two;

ni-ox-axě, thou cuttest me in two;

ni-ox-axe-me-no, thou cuttest us in two;

na-ox-axě, they cut me in two;

na-ox-ax-ēn, he cut us in two.

Further exemplification of the Instrumental State, Animate and Inanimate:

na-é-so, I cut him off (considering the height or length);

na-éxă, I cut it off (considering the height or length);

na-onen-xâx-no, I-hurt-by fire-one (anim.);

na-onen-xâ-ha, I-hurt by fire-it;

na-hõe-ně-na'-no, I-out-send-one (as a messenger);

na-heš-kov-o'-no, I-thorn-prick-one;

na-heš-kov-o-ha, I prick it;

na-he-kō-mo, I peep at him;

na-he-kox-no, I peep at him (with eyeglass).

IV. ITS MODES. — By “modes” we understand special verbal suffixes attached to the stem to modify or characterize the action. These modes are :

1. INDICATIVE —

na-vō-san, I see.

2. IMPERATIVE —

vō-san-sz, see thou !

vō-san-e, see you !

vō-sa-ne-o, then, there, see thou !

vō-sa-ne-hen, then, there, see you !

vōx-tōz, see thou it !

vōx-tom, see you it !

vōx-to-meo, then, there, see thou it ;

vōx-to-ma-hen, see then, you it ;

vōm-sz, see thou me !

vōm-e, see you me !

vōm-ehă ! see thou him !

vom-a ! see you him !

vō-mō, then, there, see thou him !

3. HORTATIVE —

nše-vōme-ha, let him see him !

nše-vō-ma-es, let him see me !

ni-ta-vō-san-hema, let us see !

4. NEGATIVE —

na-saa-vō-mo-é, I do not see him ;

na-saa-vō-san-é, I do not see ;

na-saa-vōx-tō, I do not see it.

5. HYPOTHETIC —

mo-na-vō-sa-né, probably I see, no doubt I see ;

mo-vō-mo-evo, no doubt he sees him ;

mo-vōx-tō, he must see it.

6. INTERROGATIVE —

na-vō-sa-né, do I see ?

ni-vō-mo-hé, dost thou see him ?

7. ATTRIBUTIVE :

na-vō-san-e-măs, ich *soll* sehen ;

e-vō-san-ész, er *soll* sehen ;

na-vō-mo-sz, ich *soll* ihn sehen ;
na-vōx-ta-nōs, ich *soll* es sehen ;
ni-vō-maz-e-mās, ich *soll* dich sehen.

8. NARRATIVE —

e-vō-sane-hō, he saw (then) ;
e-vō-m-hōn, he saw him then ;
e-vō-mo-vo-hōn, they saw him then ;
e-vōx-tano, he saw it, then.

9. LOCATIVE —

na-ta-vō-san-emo, I shall be seeing there, then ;
na-ta-vō-mo-hō, I shall see him then or there ;
na-ta-vōx-ta-no, then, there, I shall be seeing it.

10. DESIDERATIVE —

na-vō-se-ne-tan, I want to see ;
na-vō-ma-ta-no-tov, I desire to see him ;
na-vōx-ta-ta-no-ta, I desire to see it.

11. DECLARATIVE —

na-pevo-osan, I-good declare ;
na-pevo-osemo, I-good-declare him ;
na-pevo-osesta, I-good-declare it.

12. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE —

hes-to-ze-on na-vō-ma-mo.
 his-servant I-see-his-him.
he-ma-a-ta-no na-vōx-to-mo-vo.
 his-gun I-see-it-his.
he-vez na-ta-ne-oxz-evo.
 his place I-going to it his.

13. SUBSTITUTIVE —

na-vō-sane-vō-mo-t' san.
 I-see- for or in place.
na-vō-sane-vo-mo-ta-o, I see for him.
 { *na-me-a*, I give.
 { *na-mea-vo-mo-tao*, I give-for him, in his place.

There are a good many more modes, always characterized by the modal suffix. The verb is further modified by more than five hundred different modal particles, used as infixes, either alone or combined with each other. Examples :

<i>na-veše-vō-san</i> , I see with (instrument) ;	<i>na-ve-se-vō-san</i> , I see with (in fellowship with) ;
<i>na-nehe-vō-san</i> , I immediately see ;	<i>na-hoxe-e-vō-san</i> , I see clearly ;
<i>na-me-to-vō-san-heme</i> , we - by turns-see ;	<i>na-he-vō-san</i> , I have to see ;
<i>na-me-vō-san</i> , I may see ;	<i>na-no-na-xe-vō-san</i> , I-probably-see ;
<i>na-ho-tse-vō-san</i> , I endeavor to see ;	<i>na-hó-ze-vō-san</i> , I fail to see ;
<i>na-nox-to-ve-vō-san</i> , I am able to see ;	<i>na-hot'se-vō-san</i> , I repeatedly see ;
<i>na-emō-se-vō-san</i> , I-secretly-see ;	<i>na-ho-se-vō-san</i> , I-again-see ;
<i>na-pe-ve-vō-san</i> , I see well.	<i>na-no-ze-vō-san</i> , I am in need of seeing ;
	<i>na-manoe-vō-san-hemě</i> , we see together.

The Cheyenne reduplicate the first syllable of the verbal stem to express the iterative meaning of an action ; thus :

na-pe-vo-ē-ta, I-well-act, becomes *na-po-pe-vo-ē-ta*, I repeatedly, or many times, act well.

na-meto, I give to him ; *na-mo-me-to-nov*, I give to each of them. *ešēva*, daily ; *o-ešē-va*, each day.

tā-eva, nightly ; *tó-tā-eva*, each night.

na-oxo-ve'n, I cross ; *na-ho-txo-ve'n*, I cross many times.

e-vox-ce-oz, it is crooked ; *e-vo-vox-ce-oz*, it is crooked many times.

na-pe-ena, I grind it ; *na-pe-pe-ena*, I grind it to many pieces, also I strew.

e-hav-se-va, it is bad ; *eha-thav-se-va*, it is repeatedly bad.

e-pa-no-ta, it cleaves at the side ; *e-pa-pa-no-ta*, it is spattered at the side.

na-mez-to-vo-éo, I torment him ; *na-mo-mez-to-vo-éo*, I torment him many times.

B. — THE SUBORDINATE VERBAL FORM

This form of the verb is used mostly in dependent clauses and participial sentences. It is differentiated from the Coordinate Form by the absence of the pronominal prefixes and by a different set of suffixes. The Subordinate Verb has no Imperative, Hortative, Narrative, Hypothetic, or Interrogative mode, but it keeps all the tenses, states, and other modes of the Coordinate Verbal Form.

The persons are expressed by suffixes attached to the verb, which may or may not need any prefixes. Such prefixes have a demonstrative, conditional, conjunctive, and prepositional meaning. Examples :

ze-demonstrative, the one who ; *ma*, if when ;
ze-he-še, since ; *heva*, if, in case ;
ox, although ;

and many others. But, as stated, they are omitted from some dependent clauses.

Examples of the Subordinate Verbal Form in the Intransitive State :

ze-vō-sān-etto, it-who-sees I ; I, who see ;
ze-vō-sān-étto, it-who-sees thou ;
ze-vō-sān-sz, it-who-sees one ;
ze-vō-sān-ezes, the seeing one ;
ze-vō-sān-ež, we-who-see ;
ze-vō-sān-es, you-who-see ;
ze-vō-sān-ess, the seeing ones ;
ze-vō-sān-evoz, they-who-see.

Above is the present form. Other tenses simply insert a temporal infix. Only in the past tenses is there a change in the suffixes of the third person singular and plural ; thus : *ze'-vō-sans*, when he saw ; *ze'-vō-sān-e-vos*, when they saw. The third person singular and plural have both a common exclusive form which is characterized by the suffix *-ts* ; thus, *ze-vō-sān-e-ts*, he who sees. Example :

e-me-ha-ox-ce-hō-mo-hōn *ve-kse-o* *zis-ta-vō-sān-ets*
 he-would-always strike (is related) bird as saw-he (not the other)
 he would strike the bird as it (the bird) opened its eyes.

Were not this in the exclusive form, the Cheyenne could not know who opened the eyes, the striker or the bird.

Examples of the Transitive State :

I. ACTIVE VOICE WITH PERSONAL SUFFIXES :

ze-vō-mo, he-whom I see ; *ze-vō-mōz*, he-whom thou seest ;
ze-vō-moz, he-whom one sees ; *ze-vō-móž*, he-whom we see ;
ze-vō-mos, he-whom you see ; *ze-vō-mo-voz*, he-whom they see ;
ze-vō-mo-ts, he-whom he sees (excl.).

Above is the present. The past changes the second person singular from *ze-vō-mōs* to *ze'-vō-mos*; the third person singular becomes also *ze'-vō-mos*, and the third person plural becomes *ze'-vō-mo-vōs*. Participial forms are as follows:

- ze-vō-mon*, the ones I see;
- ze-vō-mo-sē*, the ones thou, or he, or you see;
- ze-vō-mō-zē*, the ones we see;
- ze-vō-mov-sē*, the ones they see.

2. ACTIVE VOICE WITH INANIMATE ACCUSATIVE SUFFIX:

- ze-vōx-tom*, I, seeing it or the one (inan.) I see;
- ze-vōx-tomă*, thou, seeing it;
- ze-vōx-to*, he, seeing it;
- ze-vōx-to-maz*, we, seeing it;
- ze-vōx-to-mass*, you, seeing it;
- ze-vōx-to-me-vos*, they, seeing it;
- ze-vōx-tots*, they (excl.) seeing it.

All the tenses have the same suffixes.

- ze-vōx-to-mo-noz*, I, seeing those;
- ze-vōx-to-mo-sōz*, thou, seeing those;
- ze-vōx-to-sz*, he, seeing those;
- ze-vōx-to-maz-ēs*, we, seeing those;
- ze-vōx-to-mas-ēs*, you, seeing those;
- ze-vōx-to-me-vo-sz*, they, seeing those.

3. PASSIVE VOICE:

- ze-vō-mān-etto*, I, being seen;
- ze-vō-man-étto*, thou, being seen;
- ze-vō-msz*, one, being seen;
- ze-vō-man-ez*, we, being seen;
- ze-vō-man-ess*, you, being seen;
- ze-vō-mevooss*, they, being seen;
- ze-vō-mees*, the seen ones;
- ze-vō-me-zes*, the seen one;
- ze-vō-me-ts*, one, being seen (excl.);
- ze-vō-me*, the seen one (inan.);
- ze-vō-mē-sz*, the seen ones (inan.).

4. REFLECTIVE VOICE:

- ze-vō-māz-etto*, I, seeing myself;
- ze-vō-maz-étto*, thou, seeing thyself;

ze-vō-maz-z, one, seeing one's self ;
ze-vō-maz-ez, we, seeing ourselves ;
ze-vō-maz-ess, you, seeing yourselves ;
ze-vō-maz-evoz, they, seeing themselves.

Examples of other forms :

<i>ze-vō-maz</i> , I, seeing thee ;	<i>ze-vō-maz-es</i> , I, seeing you ;
<i>ze-vōm-etto</i> , thou, seeing me ;	<i>ze-vō-mess</i> , you, seeing me ;
<i>ze-vō-masz</i> , one, seeing me ;	<i>ze-vō-ma-evoss</i> , they, seeing me ;
<i>ze-vō-ma-ez</i> , he or they, seeing us ;	<i>ze-vō-ma-ezē</i> , the ones who see us ;
<i>ze-vō-ma-ta</i> , he or they, seeing thee ;	<i>ze-vō-ma-ess</i> , he or they, seeing you.

As stated, the prefix can change, but the suffixes remain the same for all tenses, states, and modes. There are only slight changes for past tenses, as mentioned. The attributive meaning is the only cause for change in the subordinate suffixes ; for instance :

ox-vō-san-ettosz, sollte ich sehen ;
ox-vō-mosz, sollte ich ihn sehen ;
ox-vōx-to-mo-noz, sollte ich es sehen ;
ox-vō-san-éttosōz, solltest du sehen ;
ox-vō-san-ēs, sollte er sehen ;
ox-vō-san-ez-ēs, sollten wir sehen ;
ox-vō-mo-zēs, sollten wir ihn sehen ;
ox-vō-san-esēs, solltet ihr sehen ;
ox-vō-mo-sēs, solltet ihr ihn sehen ;
ox-vō-san-evosz, sollten sie sehen ;
ox-vō-mo-vosz, sollten sie ihn sehen.

Pronouns take also the subordinate verbal form. Example :

<i>ze-nē-hōv-etto</i> , I, the one ;	<i>ze-nē-hov-étto</i> , thou, the one ;
<i>ze-nē-hov-sz</i> , he, the one ;	<i>ze-nē-hov-ez</i> , we, the ones ;
<i>ze-nē-hov-ess</i> , you, the ones ;	<i>ze-nē-hov-evoz</i> , they, the ones.
<i>ni'-no-ká-etto</i> , I, the one, alone ;	<i>ni'-no-ka-étto</i> , thou alone ;
<i>ni'-no-kas</i> , he alone ;	<i>ni'-no-kaez</i> , we alone ;
<i>ni'-no-kaess</i> , you alone ;	<i>ni'-no-ka-evos</i> , they alone ;
<i>ni'-no-ka-ets</i> , he or they alone (excl.) ;	<i>ni'-no-katto</i> , it alone ;
	<i>ni'-no-ka-vosz</i> , those alone (inan.).

<i>nis-tóxetto</i> , all of me ;	<i>nis-to-xétto</i> , all of thee ;
<i>nis-toxs</i> , all of him ;	<i>nis-tô-xez</i> , all of us ;
<i>nis-tô-xess</i> , all of you ;	<i>nis-tô-xe-vos</i> , all of them ;
<i>nis-tô-xe-ts</i> , all of him or them (excl.).	

Verbal nouns can be formed from all the tenses, states, and modes of the Coordinate form, except the Imperative, Hortative, Hypothetic, Narrative, and Locative modes. The Subordinate Verbal Form does not allow formation of nouns.

A thorough knowledge of the Subordinate Verb makes its syntax comparatively easy. The Cheyenne delights in using participial forms ; in the sacred language and in oration they are very profuse. In common daily conversation the hypothetic and locative modes are much used, especially by women. Story-tellers always use the narrative mode.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF CHEYENNE SPEECH

In connected speech the Cheyenne aims to bind into a sentence whatever belongs together, somewhat like the French "liaison." For instance : *na-vô-mo hetan*, I see a man, is pronounced *na-vô-mô-tan*. There is no special accentuation in the words, unless emphasis is given. The Cheyenne is very careful of the syllables ; the rest takes care of itself. Hence to know the value of every syllable and to speak that plainly and rather slowly without a break in the sentence is considered *old correct Cheyenne*.

The younger generation is unconsciously influenced by the English, and there is a gradual tendency to use detached particles and careless forms. There is no marked dialectic difference in the different Cheyenne bands, in Oklahoma and in Montana, although the latter are slightly influenced by the Sioux. The Sotaeo [Sutaio] now incorporated by the Cheyenne, seem to have had a dialect of their own, but not making an altogether different language. The remnant of so-called Sota words show the same roots and verbal forms that we find in the Cheyenne. Old men or women claiming to be Sotaeo and using Sota forms cannot furnish an example of a word which has not a Cheyenne root in itself.

In religious ceremonies, the rites, not the words, are of most importance. Recent religious influence, either from the Messiah belief or the "mescal bean" [peyote] brought more prayers, songs, and speeches into the religious life, but without enriching the language or bringing out archaic forms. Obsolete and archaic forms are found in old prayer formulas and incantations. Certain archaic forms are used by certain bands or secret organizations and are known only to themselves. Investigation in that line will show however that such words are few in number and have little importance.

And now to close this sketch I give a few examples of Cheyenne as it is spoken in daily intercourse, and as used in prayers, in chanting, and in telling stories :

In Daily Intercourse

<i>Han</i>	<i>e-šē-va</i>	<i>na'-von-eoz-e-ham</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ze-ox-eš</i>	<i>ha-ex-ove-</i>
That	(by) day	I (did) lose-horses mine	and	although-long-time-	
<i>nox-ze-vō-mon</i>	<i>na-saa-xa-ma-ton-še-ho-e-o-to-he-o;</i>	<i>mo-no-ma'z-</i>			
seeking-by look them	I-not at-all-manage-come to-them (not)	possibly-stolen			
<i>tō-evo</i>	<i>mato-heva-mo-von-eoz-evo!</i>	<i>Ta-xa</i>	<i>nita-ze-oxz-he-mă</i>	<i>o-he</i>	
they are also-or-possibly-lost-became they!	let (say!)	we-will-there-go	to-river		
<i>mo-ho-no-vō-mos</i>	<i>ze'-nhē-e-vos</i>	<i>nae-no</i>	<i>a'-to-no</i>	<i>hox-ze-ze-va</i>	
must not-see-you them	as-they-stood	there	under	tree	
<i>mo-ho-mō-va-evo!</i>					
must have sought shelter from rain!					

In Prayers

<i>Ze-vo-vo-a-étto</i>	<i>maheo</i>	<i>ze-he-mans-tō-ne hetto</i>	<i>naeše-a-man,</i>
Thou, the first	God,	Thou, the maker of	our sun,
<i>nat-ho-toxka-ma-neo</i>	<i>na-vo-a-man</i>	<i>na na'-tho-a-man,</i>	<i>ze-heš-he-nis-</i>
our stars,	our cloud,	and	our earth,
<i>one-to-ve-me-no-notto,</i>	<i>hae!</i>	<i>ni-a-no-ši-va-ta-me-tan</i>	<i>o-ve-me-no</i>
children we are,	oh!	Thou-down in merciful thought upon us	
<i>zex-omo-mo-ena-to-vaze-me-notto!</i>	<i>Ni-t' sē-he-kone-vos-tane-ma-ne-</i>		
the ones who wailing pray to Thee!	Thou-indeed-strong lived makest Thou		
<i>o-ses-to ze-to-hetae-ha-oe-na-to-va-ta-o,</i>	<i>ve-hō-me-me-no</i>	<i>ze-heš-ha-</i>	
them	all who pray-unto Thee,	look at us	as we are
<i>o-me-nez,</i>	<i>ze-heš-oha-oe-ze-ta-no-na-vo-o-me-nez</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ze-heš-saa-</i>
in misfortune,	as-we-greatly distressed are and suffer	and	as- (we) no-

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